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A TYPOLOGICAL STUDY OF SAITE TOMBS AT THEBES

University of California, Los Angeles

PH.D.

1980

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

A Typological Study
of Saite Tombs at Thebes


A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of
the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Art History

by

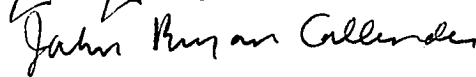
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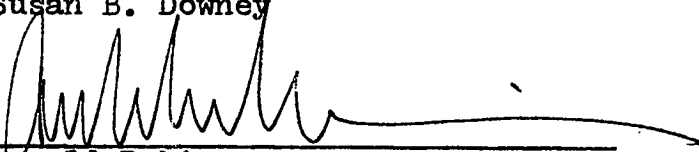
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This dissertation is dedicated
with appreciation beyond measure
to my parents,
Robert and Patricia Thomas

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List of Abbreviations

<u>ASAE</u>	<u>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte. Cairo, 1900-.</u>
<u>AZ</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde. Leipzig, 1863-1943; Berlin, 1954-.</u>
<u>Badawy, A., Egyptian Architecture</u> I	<u>Badawy, A., A History of Egyptian Architecture. Vol. I, From the Earliest Times to the End of the Old Kingdom, (Giza, 1954).</u>
<u>Badawy, A., Egyptian Architecture</u> II	<u>Badawy, A., A History of Egyptian Architecture: The First Intermediate Period, the Middle Kingdom, and the Second Intermediate Period, (Los Angeles, 1966).</u>
<u>Badawy, A., Egyptian Architecture</u> III	<u>Badawy, A., A History of Egyptian Architecture, The Empire (New Kingdom), From the Eighteenth Dynasty to the End of the Twentieth Dynasty, (Los Angeles, 1968).</u>
<u>BIFAO</u>	<u>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Cairo, 1901-.</u>
<u>Chronique d'Égypte</u>	<u>Chronique d'Égypte. Bulletin périodique de la Fondation égyptologique Reine Elisabeth. Brussels, 1925-.</u>
<u>JARCE</u>	<u>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt. Princeton, New Jersey, 1962-.</u>
<u>JEA</u>	<u>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. London, 1914-.</u>
<u>JNES</u>	<u>Journal of Near Eastern Studies. Chicago, 1942-.</u>
<u>Kêmi</u>	<u>Kêmi. Revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes et coptes. Paris, 1928-.</u>
<u>MDIK</u>	<u>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für Ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo. Berlin, 1930-.</u>

- Mem. Miss. Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire. Paris, 1884-.
- MMA Bull. Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York, 1905-1942; New Series, 1942-.
- Oriens Antiquus Oriens Antiquus, Rivista del Centro per le Antichità e la Storia dell'Arte del Vicino Oriente. Rome, 1962-.
- Orientalia Orientalia. Commentarii periodici Pontifici Instituti Biblici. Rome, 1931-.
- Porter and Moss Bibliography Porter, B. and R. Moss, Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings, (Oxford, 1927-1951). New ed., (Oxford, 1960-1978).
- I, (1),
2nd ed. I. The Theban Necropolis, Part 1. Private Tombs, (1960).
- I, (2),
2nd ed. I. The Theban Necropolis, Part 2. Royal Tombs and smaller cemeteries, (1964).
- II. II. Theban Temples, (1929).
- III. (1),
2nd ed. III. Memphis, Part 1. Abû Rawâsh to Abusîr, (1974).
- III. (2),
2nd. ed. III. Memphis, Part 2. Saqqâra to Dahshûr, (1978).
- IV. IV. Lower and Middle Egypt (Delta and Cairo to Asyût), (1934).
- V. V. Upper Egypt; sites (Deir Rifa to Aswan, excluding Thebes and the Temples of Abydos, Dendera, Esna, Edfu, Kôm Ombo and Philae, (1937).
- VI. VI. Upper Egypt: chief Temples (excluding Thebes) Abydos, Dendera, Esna, Edfu, Kôm Ombo and Philae, (1939).
- VII. VII. Nubia, the Deserts, outside Egypt, (1951).

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

A Typological Study
of Saite Tombs at Thebes

by

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During the late XXVth and XXVIth dynasties (approximately 751-525 B.C.), a series of tombs of a type seemingly quite different from structures of preceding periods of tomb construction was built in the Assasif area of the Western Necropolis at Thebes. These tombs have frequently been referred to by Egyptologists as monuments representing the "archaic revival" of the Saite period and as embodying forms which are wholly new to the repertoire of Egyptian funerary architecture.

This dissertation develops a typology of the architectural forms and programs of wall scenes and inscriptions appearing in the Saite tombs and traces these elements to their sources. The basic characteristics of the Saite tombs are: massive mudbrick superstructure with pylon

gateway; enclosure walls of the superstructure articulated with a complex pattern of recessed panelling; dual entrances to the super- and substructure; dramatic usage of the sunken court, integrated into the tomb plan and preceded by a lobby and vestibule; variety of usage and integration of architectural statuary into tomb plan; multi-leveled primary burial chambers designed with consideration to the security of the burial; and a well-developed repertoire of scenes and inscriptions based upon three themes - "Contact with the world of the Living," "Transition into the Netherworld," and "Resurrection." The majority of these elements are based upon models which may be found at Thebes within a radius of a few kilometers: the private tombs of the Middle and New Kingdom nobles, the nearby mortuary temples, such as that of Hatshepsut, a very dominant landmark in this area, and the New Kingdom royal tombs of "Biban el-Moluk." In addition to precedents found in funerary and mortuary architecture, the Saite tombs continue the tradition known from the earliest dynasties, the incorporation of elements from domestic architecture into the tomb plan. The massive scale of the Saite tombs - their chambers, corridors and stairways forming a complex sequence of rooms, and the inclusion of niches or chambers within the tomb for the interment of subsequent family members also contribute to their designation as "funerary palaces."

Introduction

A series of tombs of a type seemingly quite different from the structures of preceding periods of tomb construction was built during the Saite period in the Assasif area of the Western Necropolis at Thebes. These tombs have frequently been referred to as "funerary"palaces" by Egyptologists, owing to their vastness and complex series of rooms and corridors. The tombs of Mentuemhet and Pedamenopet are the largest private tombs built during any period of ancient Egyptian tomb building.

The Saite tombs have also been referred to as monuments representing the "archaic revival" of the Saite period and as embodying forms which are wholly new to the repertoire of Egyptian funerary architecture. The major focus of this paper will be to examine these concepts and to trace the sources for the architectural forms and programs of wall scenes and inscriptions which appear in the Saite tombs. Fundamental to an inquiry of this type is the development of a chronology for the tombs and a typological study of their components.

Chronology and Historical Information

Eight tombs have been chosen for this study as they are the most complete and extensive examples - and their mutually shared elements evidence the definitive characteristics of tombs of the Saite period:

<u>Mntw-m-h3t</u>	=	Mentuemhet (no. 34)
<u>P3-d1-1mn-1pt</u>	=	Pedamenopet (no. 33)
<u>Mwt-1r-d1-s(t)</u>	=	Mutirdis (no. 410)
<u>B3-s3</u>	=	Basa (no. 389)
<u>Ib1</u>	=	Ibi (no. 36)
<u>P3-b3-s3</u>	=	Pabasa (no. 279)
<u>P3-d1-hr-rsnt</u>	=	Pedihorresnet (no. 196)
<u>Ššnk</u>	=	Sheshonq (no. 27)

The chronology of the tombs appears in figure 1 and is discussed in the following pages.

These tomb owners comprise a succession of powerful local officials, residing in Thebes during the mid XXVth to the late XXVith dynasty. An official such as Mentuemhet, witnessed events leading to the erosion of the XXVth dynasty, the invasions of the Assyrians, and the reunification of Upper and Lower Egypt under the kings from Sais. Mentuemhet was likely to have been the most powerful official in Upper Egypt during his lifetime, as indicated by his numerous monuments and his titles such as "Overseer of Upper Egypt" and "Mayor of the City."¹

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Among the tomb owners, is another "Mayor of the City," Basa; a high-ranking member of the clergy, Pedamenopet; and four "High Stewards of the Divine Adoratress of Amun."² The historical background and order of succession of these High Stewards are useful in establishing the overall chronology for the Saite tombs.

The High Stewards of the Divine Adoratresses

At the time of the Nubian invasion of Egypt, Shepenupet I, the daughter of King Osorkon III, held the office of Divine Adoratress of Amun at Thebes. Preceding pharaohs had realized the advantage of appointing a loyal agent in Thebes who would not become a rival. As J. Wilson describes, "The High Priest of Amon at Thebes had been too powerful an individual in the past, so that his position had been subordinated to that of a priestess, 'The Divine Votress of Amon.'"³ To assure allegiance, this office was filled by the daughter or relative of the pharaoh. As Gardiner notes, "Such a God's Wife wielded great influence, and was to all intents and purposes the equal of the king, her father, not only having great estates and officials of her own, but also being authorized to make offerings to the gods, a right elsewhere reserved for Pharaoh himself; the main limitation to her authority was that it was confined to Thebes."⁴ When the Nubians came to power, the appointment of the Divine Adoratress became a deliberate

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instrument of policy, and thus, the device of adoption was introduced in order to integrate a member of their household into the Theban succession of Divine Adoratresses.

It is generally assumed that Piye (formerly read Piankhy) forced Shepenupet I to adopt, as her daughter and successor, Amenirdis who was the natural daughter of his predecessor, Kashta.⁵ This is believed to have taken place around the time of Piye's great campaign in Egypt, ca. 730 B.C.⁶ The successor to Amenirdis, Shepenupet II, was the daughter of Piye and served during the reigns of Taharqa, Tanutamun, and during the early years of Psamtik I. Shepenupet II was succeeded by Nitocris, the daughter of Psamtik I. A large stela from Karnak relates how Psamtik I sent his eldest daughter to be adopted by Shepenupet II during his ninth year in office (656 B.C.).⁷ The text of this stela provides a detailed description of the journey by Nitocris to Thebes, including her reception by the High Priests, led by the official, Mentuemhet. Nitocris served a very long period in office which extended through the reigns of Psamtik I, Necho, and Psamtik II. Almost sixty years later, the adoption process was repeated when Nitocris accepted Ankhnesneferibre, the daughter of Psamtik II, as her successor during the first year of the king's reign (595 B.C.).⁸

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The five Divine Adoratresses of the Nubian and Saite houses ruled for approximately two hundred years, and during this time a series of seven High Stewards are known to have administered their widespread domains.

The first in the succession of High Stewards was Harwa (Theban tomb no. 37). Lichtheim, on the basis of inscriptions from the eight extant statues of Harwa, dates his stewardship to the period in which Amenirdis was Divine Adoratress.⁹ Unfortunately, neither the statues nor the presently inaccessible tomb of Harwa provide evidence for the king under whom Harwa served.¹⁰ The plan of the XXVth dynasty tomb of Harwa shows many characteristics of the Saite "Grabpalast" tradition.¹¹ It was originally intended to include this tomb with the other eight tombs chosen for this study. The scant information available on this unpublished tomb does not allow full comparison; instead, examples will be drawn from tomb no. 37 to provide supplementary information.

Akhamenru was the second High Steward, most likely serving Amenirdis and Shepenupet. Lichtheim notes that two of his seven known statues carry the cartouche of the deceased Amenirdis in addition to that of the reigning Shepenupet II.¹² Akhamenru also names one of the kings whom he must have served, Tanutamun, reigning from 664-653 B.C.

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The tomb of Akhamenru (no. 404) is appended to the north-west corner of the sunken court of the tomb of Harwa, and is modest in comparison to the tomb of his predecessor.¹³ This unpublished tomb provides little evidence for comparison to the other Saite tombs.

The following three High Stewards served Nitocris and are included among the major tomb builders of this period. The careers of Ibi (no. 36), Pabasa (no. 279), and Pedihorresnet (no. 196) will be discussed individually in the next section.

The remaining two High Stewards are Sheshonq (son of Harsiēsis) and Pedineith.¹⁴ Sheshonq's predecessor, High Steward Pedihorresnet, is known to have served both Necho II and Psamtik II,¹⁵ but, it is possible for Sheshonq to have served Nitocris, although the major portion of his term probably fell during the reign of the Divine Adoratress Ankhnesneferibre. The career of Sheshonq will be discussed in the following section.

Pedineith, the final High Steward in this series, served Ankhnesneferibre. His tomb (no. 197) lies in the eastern portion of the Assasif area, and is, as yet, unpublished and inaccessible. A sketch plan of the tomb was included on the map of the Assasif produced by the German Expedition in 1976 (see key map, Appendix Ib) and the arch of the extant east pylon will be discussed in Part II, 2B.

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The plan indicates that tomb no. 197 serves as a striking example of adaptation in layout dictated by the limited available building space in this region. Along its eastern side, the tomb abuts on the superstructure of the tomb of Pabasa. Its western enclosure wall parallels the eastern pylon of the tomb of Mentuemhet. The main entrance pylon of tomb 197 was displaced to the south by the tomb of Pabasa, while the northern pylon and corridor entrance of the tomb extend unhindered to the north. The key map indicates that the tomb of Pedineith embodies the elements of the typical Saite tomb - massive mudbrick pylon and enclosure walls, lateral entrance pylon, and sunken court, yet, sufficient information is also lacking for this tomb, preventing inclusion in this study.

Lansing, in his discussion of High Steward Pabasa, re-emphasizes the position of influence which these officials must have held,

"To judge from this lengthy array of titles, Pabasa must have been in his time the most important man in Thebes. Though allowance for exaggeration must be made in the case of his titular assertions, there is no doubt at all of the power which the Chief Stewards of the Divine Votresses of Amon enjoyed during the Saite period. The latter were a convenient means of government which the kings, who ruled in the Delta, employed; and the favor of the great nobles was retained by appointing them to high offices such as those (24 titles of Pabasa) listed above. The nobles seem to have been the real rulers of Thebes, and their preeminence is reflected by the costly nature of their tombs..." 16

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J. Assman believes that the High Stewards assumed the essentially feudal position of the imy-r šm'w (Overseer of Upper Egypt), the role of supervising the priesthood, and possibly the municipal functions equivalent to the role of h3ty-' n niwt (Mayor of the City).¹⁷ Pedihorresnet, the High Steward of Nitocris, was actually referred to as h3ty-' n niwt in an inscription from Abydos.¹⁸

The following pages contain evidence for the chronology for the eight tomb owners chosen for this study.

Pedamenopet

The inscriptions from one of the nine known statues of Pedamenopet indicate that he was consecrated as Lector Priest in 662-661 B.C.¹⁹ The most significant title from his tomb, found in addition to traditional titles and epithets, is hry-hbt hrp-tp (Chief Lector Priest).²⁰ It may be estimated that he achieved the rank of Chief Lector Priest in the years following his appointment as lector priest (662-661 B.C.) and that he lived during a period which coincided with Mentuemhet's term of office as Governor of Upper Egypt. The mention of any king or Divine Adoratrix is notably absent from Pedamenopet's extensive tomb. R. Anthes has speculated that such an omission would be more likely during a period of foreign rule, i.e. during the rule of the Nubians of the XXVth dynasty, rather than the XXVIth dynasty.²¹ In addition,

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scenes and texts from the sunken court of Pedamenpet are largely destroyed, eliminating the possibility of such references in the location where they appear in other Saite tombs (Mentuemhet, Ibi, Pabasa).²² Pedamenopet's name is mentioned on the doorway of the small temple at Medinet Habu,²³ but otherwise, his name is not included on Theban documents of this period. His name does not appear on the "Saite Oracle Papyrus," dated to 650 B.C., which depicts Mentuemhet and other high officials of the early XXVith dynasty.²⁴ Parker surmises that the chief lector priest shown in the vignette of this papyrus is an official named Pediamennebnesuttawy.²⁵ Pedamenopet may have held office shortly before or after this time, and as a result, the dating of his tomb is the most uncertain of the series. There is no evidence that Pedamenopet lived far into the XXVith dynasty, while it is well-established that Mentuemhet did. For this reason, Pedamenopet has been assigned the first position in the chronology.

Mentuemhet

Numerous inscriptions on finds and from the walls of tomb no. 34 identify Mentuemhet as "Fourth Prophet of Amun," "Mayor of the City," and "Governor of Upper Egypt,"²⁶ His monuments, and specifically two inscriptions from Abydos, indicate that his influence extended beyond the limits of

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Thebes.²⁷ Gardiner, speaking of Mentuemhet, comments,

"Mentemhē is first mentioned in the Rassam cylinder of Ashurbanipal, where he figures as 'king of Thebes.' In point of fact he was only the 'fourth prophet of Amun.' though descended from a priestly family; it is certain that he altogether overshadowed the 'first prophet.'²⁸

An informative scene from the rear wall of a small chamber in the Temple of Mut at Karnak shows Mentuemhet and Taharqa (690-664 B.C.) worshipping before a goddess.²⁹ Scenes from tomb 34, such as that on the doorway of the sunken court, depict Psamtik I before Osiris, indicating that Mentuemhet survived the sack of Thebes in 663 B.C. and served also in the reign of the first Saite king, Psamtik I (664-609 B.C.).³⁰

The importance of Mentuemhet's position is again emphasized by his depiction and signatures on the "Saite Oracle Papyrus," dated to the 14th year of the reign of Psamtik I (650 B.C.).³¹ Mentuemhet signs the document, as Parker notes,

"Mentuemhet (signs) first, as befitting his position in both the state and as Reporting prophet of Amon and the High Priest, and as last witness, writing in a hand fully twice as large as anyone else."³²

Parker also identifies Mentuemhet in the vignette which is included on the papyrus, as the priest who offers incense before the shrine of Amun-Re', as it is carried by priests in procession (fig. 2).³³ Bald-headed Mentuemhet wears the leopard skin tunic of the sem-priest over his calf-length

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skirt, extends an incense burner with his left hand, and carries an ankh in his right hand. Mentuemhet's identity is assured by his name and title, imy-r šm'w (Overseer of Upper Egypt), appearing on the diagonal sash of his garment.³⁴

As Kees points out in his study of the priesthood in the Egyptian state, the inherent power of an individual during the Late Period did not lie in his position within the priesthood of Amun, but rather as a confidant of the king in the process of the management of the religious state.³⁵ According to Kees, the rank of h3ty-' (Mayor/Prince) was analogous to the role of "Overseer of the Prophets."³⁶ An attempt to reinforce this royal confidence may perhaps be reflected by Mentuemhet's marriage to a member of the Nubian court, Princess Udjarens, who apparently was a granddaughter of king Piye.³⁷

Parker notes that Mentuemhet's son, Nesptah II, assumes his father's titles during the 17th year of Psamtik I and that Mentuemhet must have died between (650-647 B.C.).³⁸ It is possible that Mentuemhet shared a co-mayorship with his son during his final years.

Mutirdis

There are no monuments or inscription outside of the tomb proper (no. 410) which mention the name of Mutirdis or her family.³⁹ A relief block from the stairway of the tomb

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reveals that Mutirdis served as hry(t) šmswt n(t)dw3t.ntr (High Attendant to the Divine Adoratress) during the reign of Nitocris.⁴⁰ Mutirdis' father, Phibis (P3-hbw) is designated as 1t1-ntr (God's Father) and mry-ntr (Beloved of the God), in inscriptions within the tomb.⁴¹ There are two names, with various titles, for the mother of Mutirdis, inscribed both on the tomb walls and on funerary cones retrieved from the site. It is possible that she had both a natural and an adoptive mother, as is the case for the XXVth dynasty official, 'Ankhhor.⁴² Her adoptive (?) mother held the same position as Mutirdis, "High Attendant to the Divine Adoratress."⁴³ It is difficult to determine Mutirdis' role within the hierarchy of officials from this period, but it must be assumed that she had sufficient and adequate means to construct a large tomb in the Assasif. Her additional titles include, nbt nmtt n(t)pr hnwt.s (She who has free movement/access in the residence of the Divine Adoratress).⁴⁴ As Assman points out, this title does not designate physical movement, as in a procession or ceremony, but rather the privilege of free access to the residence of the Divine Adoratress, without the need for announcement or the arrangement of an audience.⁴⁵ The identical title was held by High Stewards Ibi and Pabasa.⁴⁶

The tomb of Mutirdis must have been begun before the

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adjacent Saite tomb of Basa. The northern ends of the mud-brick pylons I and II of Basa and the enclosure wall overlap the superstructure of tomb 410 (see key map). On the other hand, the "doubling-back" of the subterranean rooms of the tomb of Mutirdis indicate that the tomb was hindered by the plan of Basa, suggesting contemporaneous construction for the two tombs. Assmann believes that the tomb of Basa was constructed during the second or third decade of the reign of Psamtik I (654-634 B.C.).⁴⁷ Although both officials served the Divine Adoratress Nitocris, nothing is known about the relationship between these two individuals. It is possible that the close proximity of their tombs was only accidental.

Basa

Basa served as h₃ty-⁶ n nⁱwt (Mayor of the City) during the reign of Psamtik I and was the successor to Mentuemhet and his family.⁴⁸ It is probable that this position had been reorganized and became little more than honorific.⁴⁹ The succession of "Mayors of the City" during the XXVth and XXVIth dynasties has been established as follows:

- Kelbasken (Theban tomb no. 391)
- Nesptah I - Father of Mentuemhet
- Mentuemhet (Theban tomb no. 34)
- Nesptah II - son of Mentuemhet, possible co-mayorship
- Raemmaacheru - Cousin of Mentuemhet

Basa

Following Basa, three members of the Pathenfy family:

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Pathenfy (Theban tomb no. 128)
Chonsirdis
Ra'mose⁵⁰

A comparison of the titles reveals that following the reign of the Mentuemhet family (although already dropped by Raemmaacheru), the titles of "Overseer of Upper Egypt," "Hereditary Noble," "Prince," and "Priest of Amun" are no longer connected with the office of h3ty-⁵¹ n n1wt. Additional evidence for the reorganization of the office of h3ty-⁵¹ n n1wt may be seen in the appointment of a certain Nespekashuti (Theban tomb no. 312), who became "Vizier" and "Overseer of Upper Egypt" several years before the appointment of Basa.⁵² With the office of "Overseer of Upper Egypt" now taken over by the vizier, the essential power of the h3ty-⁵¹ n n1wt must have been reduced. Also, the titles of "Hereditary Noble" and "Prince" are adopted by the High Stewards of the Divine Adoratrix, and, as noted previously, Pedihorresnet is referred to as h3ty-⁵¹ n n1wt in an inscription from Abydos.⁵³

Assmann dates the tomb of Basa to the second or third decade of the long reign of Psamtik I (664-610 B.C.), approximately the years between 654-634 B.C.⁵⁴ He employs the terminus ante quem of the construction of the tomb of Mutirdis, as noted in the preceding section, and dated to the reign of Psamtik I and Nitocris. The tomb of Basa's

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successor, Pathenfy (tomb no. 128) cannot be compared to the Saite "Grabpalast" tradition.⁵⁵ This tradition is instead continued in the tombs of the High Stewards of the Divine Adoratresses.

Ibi

The inscription from a statue of Ibi records that he took office as High Steward to Nitocris in 639 B.C.⁵⁶ Inscriptions from the tomb also indicate that Ibi served Shepenupet II, the predecessor of Nitocris in some capacity, as he states that he was: m₃ šst₃ D_{rt}-n_{tr} Špnwpt m w'bt "one who witnessed the mysteries of the God's Hand Shepenupet," and was "in the favor of the God's Adoratress, Shepenupet, justified."⁵⁷ As K. Kuhlmann and W. Schenkel, who have studied several aspects of Ibi's tomb, point out, changes in inscriptions indicate that the tomb was begun prior to his appointment as the High Steward of Nitocris in 639 B.C.⁵⁸ The tomb was expanded, probably following Ibi's appointment. The vestibule was doubled in area, Hall I was enlarged to the north and appended with the shrine, and additional rooms were added to the burial apartments. The unfinished condition of the tomb indicates that Ibi must have died soon after he took office.

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Pabasa

Pabasa served as High Steward to Nitocris during the reign of Psamtik I. A scene from the south wall of the sunken court of his tomb depicts Pabasa functioning in his official role - participating in an offering made by Nitocris to Re⁵⁹-Horakhty and Hathor. The question of whether Pabasa preceded or succeeded Ibi in office has been the subject of debate among scholars concerned with this period.⁶⁰ Pabasa appears with both Shepenupet II and Nitocris on a naos containing a statue of Taurt which Pabasa dedicated to the goddess.⁶¹ Lichtheim points out,

"However, while the figures are broken in such a manner that it cannot be determined whether the cartouche of Shepenupet II was followed by 'deceased' or 'living,' the arrangement of the scenes is such that Nitocris takes precedence over Shepenupet. Hence it is likely that this monument too refers to the reign of Nitocris, as the Taurt statue which stood inside the naos and bears the cartouches of Psamtik I and Nitocris." ⁶²

Evidence from the tomb itself reveals more clearly that Pabasa followed Ibi in the office of High Steward.

Lichtheim again comments,

"...in his (tomb), Pabasa repeatedly enumerates the dignities he held under Nitocris and Psamtik, while Shepenupet appears only in genealogical contexts - as the deceased mother of Nitocris. Ibi, on the other hand, was in the employ of Shepenupet II prior to becoming an official of Nitocris." ⁶³

Thus, it may be concluded that Pabasa served as the second of the High Stewards during the long reign of Nitocris and

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that his tomb probably was constructed at a slightly later date than that of Ibi.

Pedihorresnet

Pedihorresnet was the third of four High Stewards to serve Nitocris.⁶⁴ The cartouche of Necho II appears on the southern jamb of the stairway leading to the sunken court of tomb no. 196.⁶⁵ At another location in the tomb, the cartouche of Necho II was erased and replaced with the name of Psamtik II, an indication that Pedihorresnet served both kings.⁶⁶

Pedihorresnet was originally believed to be the son of Ibi.⁶⁷ E. Graefe, during his examination of the tomb in 1970, noted that the genealogical inscriptions from the landing of the stairway revealed that Pedihorresnet was actually the great-grandson of Ibi.⁶⁸ This relationship becomes plausible, as Graefe concludes, if a span of twenty years is allowed for each generation and Ibi took office at approximately the age of sixty. Ibi is believed to have died soon after his appointment as High Steward.⁶⁹ If Pabasa served as High Steward to Nitocris for ten to fifteen years, it would be possible for Pedihorresnet to have been the High Steward of Nitocris during the reigns of Necho II (610 B.C.-695 B.C.) and Psamtik II (595-589 B.C.).

An inscription from Abydos records Pedihorresnet's

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title of h₃ty-^f n níwt, an indication that, if the title is more than laudatory, the High Stewards also served in a municipal capacity.

Sheshonq

As High Steward to Nitocris and Ankhnesneferibre, Sheshonq served a long and well-documented career which lasted through the reigns of three kings: Apries (589-570 B.C.), Amasis (570-526 B.C.), and Psamtik III (526-525 B.C.).⁷⁰ L. Christophe notes that stela 835 and statue 964 from the British Museum indicate that Sheshonq was the final High Steward of Nitocris.⁷¹ An important piece of evidence is the adoption stela of Ankhnesneferibre which depicts this Divine Adoratress, together with Apries and Sheshonq, and records her adoption in the 4th year of that king (585 B.C.).⁷² A relief from the small Temple H at Karnak includes the Divine Adoratress, Amasis and Sheshonq.⁷³ And finally, another scene from the Karnak Temple of Osiris Pameres depicts Ankhnesneferibre, Psamtik III and Sheshonq.⁷⁴

As clarified by Christophe, the High Steward Sheshonq, owner of tomb no. 27, was the son of Harsieses and should not be confused with a later official, Sheshonq, son of Pedineith.⁷⁵

From the preceding introduction it may be observed that not all of the tombs which have been classified as belonging

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to the Saite Period fall neatly within the ruling years of the Saite kings (664-525 B.C.). But it must be remembered that the center of administrative power for this period was in Lower Egypt and these tombs were built in Thebes for local officials. Two combined factors justify the grouping of these tombs as a topic for study: (1) the position of their owners within a known succession of powerful local officials and (2) their similarities in plan, which will be examined in Part II.

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Typology

In order to determine the typology for the Saite tombs, they will be discussed under the following headings: superstructure and substructure - approach, sunken court, cult chambers, and burial apartments. Details of the architecture requiring more extensive treatment will be examined in individual chapters following the introductory typology.

SUPERSTRUCTURE

The superstructures of these tombs have, for the most part, been destroyed. Evidence for the reconstruction of their plans must necessarily be taken from the remaining lower courses of enclosure walls and foundations. The entrance pylons of several of the tombs are the exception and will be discussed in Part II, 2(A). The key plan, Appendix I, depicts the reconstructed plans of the tombs and their location in the Assasif. Appendix II, a-h, shows the individual tomb plans.

The original plan of the superstructure of the Saite tomb consisted of a rectangular mudbrick enclosure wall, oriented along an east/west axis, accessible from its east side. The wall enclosed the area below which the underground apartments of the tomb were situated, also along an east/west axis. There are two variants of this basic plan. In the tombs of Mentuemhet, Pabasa, and Sheshonq, the substructure is reached by a long sloping exterior corridor

Typology

descending from the north, marked at its start by a second pylon (fig. 3). The sources for this configuration will be discussed in Part II, chapters 3 and 4. In the second variant found in the tombs of Pedamenopet, Basa, Mutirdis, Ibi and Pedihorresnet (fig. 4), an additional pylon (II) is located to the west, which together with the lateral enclosure walls, forms a forecourt in line with the axis of the first pylon (I). This second pylon marks the entrance to the substructure, which is reached either by means of a stairway (Basa and Pedihorresnet) or, when the site slopes upward from east to west, by opening directly to a sunken court (Pedamenopet).

Each of the extant six pylons consists of two brick towers of rectangular plan flanking an arched portal (see II, 2 B). The enclosure walls were also constructed of mud brick and, as evidenced by the tombs of Pedamenopet, Pedihorresnet, and Sheshonq, had a series of recessed niches on the external faces of the walls (see II, 2 C). A notable feature visible from ground level at the site of each of these tombs is the rectangular well which marks the sunken courts (II, 2 F).

The discovery of numerous funerary cones bearing the names of Saite owners indicates that these cones may have been set into the masonry of the tomb façades, as was the

Typology

custom in several Middle and New Kingdom Theban tombs (II, 2 D). A seemingly new element, a blind niche in the axis of the superstructure, appears in the second pylon of the tomb of Sheshonq (II, 2E).

SUBSTRUCTURE (see fig. 5 for typical plan)

I. Approach - As noted in the previous section, access is generally provided by a sloping passageway or stairway originating from a point either within or to the north of the enclosure walls. The initial rooms consist of a lobby and vestibule, which are most often placed at right angles to the main axis of the tomb. The lobby is a small rectangular room, columnless (Basa, Ibi) or having two columns (Mentuemhet). It forms the transition at right angles from the stairway to the vestibule. The vestibule is slightly larger, and often columnless (Pabasa, Sheshonq). Its ceiling may also be supported by square pillars (Ibi), two columns (Basa) or four columns (Mentuemhet).

II. Sunken Court - An element not previously encountered in monumental funerary architecture appears in the Saite tomb: an open court which is created as an integral part of the substructure. The court is rectangular or square in plan and generally oriented east/west - along the main axis of the tomb. The depth between the floor of the court and

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the contemporaneous level of the surrounding terrain varied from 217 meters (Mutirdis) to approximately 11 meters (Pedi-horresnet). Development of the court may be traced, for the courts of the later tombs, particularly Ibi, Pabasa and Sheshonq, are larger in relation to the overall tomb plan and are cut to a much greater depth. The limestone walls of the court are crowned with a protruding frieze, torus and cavetto cornice. A retaining wall of brick surmounted the stone wall to prevent the bedrock from crumbling (fig.6).

The majority of the courts have side porticos which run parallel to the main axis of the tomb, formed by square pillars or columns. An exception is the court from the tomb of Mentuemhet, in which there is a different treatment of spatial units. Instead of a portico, a row of five small chapels opens along both north and south walls (II, 2G).

A central doorway in the far wall of the court leads to the subsequent chambers. This doorway may be deeply recessed in a vaulted portal (Pedamenopet, Pedihorresnet, Sheshonq) or located at the rear of a raised portico (Mentuemhet).

III. Cult Chambers - The cult chambers consist of a series of rooms extending along the main axis of the tomb, the number and elaboration of which appear to be in keeping with the general scale of each tomb. Basic to the typical plan

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rectangular deep hall with side aisles formed by two rows of four square pillars. The tomb of Pedamenopet has an additional square room with four pillars which is appended beyond the deep hall, and a second series of cult rooms which extend to the north. As in the private tombs of the New Kingdom, and even the Middle Kingdom, a shrine is located beyond the halls in the main axis of the tomb. The shrine may be rectangular (Pedamenopet, Pedihorresnet, Sheshonq) or square in plan (Ibi, Pabasa).

The cult chambers of the tombs of Mutirdis and Basa are simpler, columnless and rectangular. The tomb of Mentuemhet has a second open court, a broad hall with two rows of six columns, a deep hall with a complex configuration of side chapels, three stairways on a winding plan, and a square shrine.

IV. Burial Apartments - The burial apartments of the larger tombs, Mentuemhet and Pedamenopet, are reached by way of a lengthy and elaborate succession of corridors and stairways starting from the rearmost room of the previously discussed cult chambers. Both Mentuemhet and Pedamenopet took enormous precautions to conceal their sarcophagus chambers. Entry to them was camouflaged by two false chambers with the access to the true chamber through the ceiling of the second, a device which may be compared to the pyramids of

Typology

the Middle Kingdom.¹ Smaller tombs have antechambers and burial chambers which open from the southeast (Pabasa and Mutirdis) or northwest (Ibi) corner of the deep hall. There are three burial chambers in the tomb of Basa and three in the tomb of Ibi, each containing a single burial. The eastern burial apartment of the tomb of Basa consists of a complex arrangement of rooms. A staircase 4.5 meters in length descends to a vaulted room containing the burial shaft. The main burial chamber extends north/south, is also vaulted and approximately 15 meters in length.

In contrast, the burial apartments of the New Kingdom private tomb usually consist of a sarcophagus chamber, accessible by a shaft leading from the tomb proper to the chamber. The Saïtes adopt the rooms, corridors, stairways and shafts present in the plans of the royal funerary architecture from the New Kingdom. This series of rooms comprising the burial apartments of the Saïte tombs is directly connected to the cult rooms.

Typology - Notes

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Pylons

The massive mudbrick pylon of the tomb of Mentuemhet remains today as the most dominant feature of the Assasif plain. Several of the other pylons are also preserved, although the second eastern pylon of the tomb of Sheshonq and the east pylon of Mentuemhet are the only ones which retain their arch rings. The dimensions of the other Saite pylons may be determined by their foundations. Figure 7 charts the size of the Saite pylons and indicates the presence of a second eastern pylon, or entrance pylon, to the North. The use of two separate pylons for access to the superstructure and substructure emphasized the division between these two parts of the tomb. This characteristic is discussed in Part II, Chapter 3.

The two-towered and slightly battered pylons of the Saite tombs appear to have been constructed of solid mudbrick, without a rubble core. They have no interior rooms or stairways, such as can be seen in the pylon of the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu.¹ The pylons formed a monumental gateway, emphasized in the tomb of Sheshonq by a pair of large statues which originally stood on both sides of the doorway. Evidence for these is provided by two square brick statue bases (1.2m) located two meters in front of the façade.²

There are few extant examples of the use of a pylon gateway in tomb architecture. During the New Kingdom,

Pylons

pylons are known to have fronted the courtyards of tombs cut into the hillside in the Theban districts of Deir el-Medina and Dra Abu el-Naga'. Two different forms of superstructures are found in the XIXth and XXth dynasty tombs at Deir el-Medina, each of which is fronted by a pylon. In the first (pyramid chapel) type the pylon forms the gateway to an enclosed funerary garden. At the rear of this court a small brick pyramid containing a vaulted chapel is built on a leveled area of the rock or on a brick podium. A shaft or stairway leads from the court to a series of rock-cut rooms which serve as the burial chambers (fig. 8).³

In the second (rock tomb with pyramid) type seen at Deir el-Medina, the pylon again marks the entrance to an enclosed court. The façade of the tomb is cut from the rock at the rear of the court and is often shaded by a columned portico crowned by a cavetto cornice. A small brick pyramid rises above the entrance doorway, and beyond lies a series of rooms which form a more extensive superstructure than the first type. The substructure is similar to that of the first type but is reached through a shaft opening from the rear room (fig. 9).⁴

The Ramesside tombs nos. 282 and 283 in Dra Abu el-Naga' are also fronted by a brick pylon (fig. 10).⁵ These rock-cut tombs are similar in both plan and scale and

Pylons

consist of a pylon (12 x 1.6m) fronting a square courtyard (14m). A broad hall, cut in the cliff, opens from the northern wall of the courtyard, leading to a deep hall and chapel, thus following the cruciform plan of the XVIIIth dynasty tomb (Rekhmire').⁶ The burial chambers are reached by an irregularly shaped shaft and are located to the west of the tombs. A brick pyramid, constructed on a platform carved from the hillside, rises to the north of the tomb.

The superstructures of the New Kingdom tombs of the nobles which were built in the lower lying areas of the necropolis of Western Thebes have largely been destroyed. They may originally have had pylons and freestanding enclosure walls which could be more directly compared to the superstructures of Saite tombs than the hillside tombs of Deir el-Medina and Dra Abu el-Naga'. There is, however, evidence for the pylons of New Kingdom funerary chapels which were built along the border of the valley in Thebes. These were constructed for several officials such as Amenhotep, son of Hapu (see II, 3, pp.88-9)⁷ and many of the kings of the New Kingdom.

All of these pylons may be traced to their original appearance in funerary architecture at Qaw during the XIIth dynasty. The funerary complex of Ibu has a brick pylon of one tower, located at the upper end of the causeway leading

Pylons

to the tomb.⁸ As A. Badawy remarks, "It is the prototype of the later pylon with two towers."⁹

The examples cited above, from Deir el-Medina, Dra Abu el-Naga', and from the Middle Kingdom at Qaw, clearly indicate that the brick pylons of the Saite tombs are not a new or unique element.

Pylons - Notes

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Arches of the Entrance Pylon

The arch and barrel vault have not been found in Egypt before the IIIrd dynasty.¹ Brick vaults for the roofing of offering rooms and burial chambers, and the brick semi-circular arch are first used in tombs at Bêt Khallâf and Reqaqnah.² See figure 11 for chronological chart of arches in Egyptian architecture.

The earliest example is the tomb of Neterkhet (K1) at Bêt Khallâf, dated to the reign of Neterikhet Djeser (fig. 12).³ The entrance stairway descends from the north-east corner of the mastaba, turns several times, and passes beneath a brick arch into the substructure, which is cut from the bedrock. The arch of tomb K1 is constructed of bricks placed as headers, and the resulting wedge-shaped spaces between the bricks are packed with mud or stones. Several adjacent arches are used to span the doorway, forming a vault (fig. 13).⁴

In the IVth dynasty tomb of Nefri at Giza, specially molded bricks are used to construct a ribbed archway between a small court and vestibule in the exterior chapel of the mastaba (fig. 14).⁵ The bricks are in the form of two adjacent semi-circles, and the vault is two ribs deep, spanning 2.5 meters. As A. Badawy points out, an arch of similar construction is found in the mastaba chapel of Sebef (Giza 3033), and ribbed vaults employing special bricks of several different forms are found in the Minor Cemetery

Arches

at Giza.⁶

Brick flat arches also occur in the complex of Neterikhet Djoser at Saqqara, the tomb of Idu (VIth dynasty at Dendera), and in the tombs of Ra'hotep and Kanofer at Giza.⁷

A second basic type of arch, often referred to as the catenary-curve arch or vault, also first occurs during the Old Kingdom. This arch is quite different structurally, as the bricks are laid as stretchers, running transversely to the axis of the vault. The initial course of bricks was built inclined against a wall, and each subsequent arch ring leaned against the next, thus avoiding centering (fig. 15). Thin bricks ($14 \times 7 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ ") designed for arches of this type, were often used for larger spans.⁸ The chapel of the tomb of Seneb at Giza, has catenary vault roofing a room 4.10×1.25 meters (fig. 16).⁹ The brick vaults of the magazines of the mortuary temple of Ramesses II are the most completely preserved examples of this type of arch (fig. 17).¹⁰

The first semi-circular arch of massive scale (4.5m span, 10m height to center) was constructed during the Middle Kingdom and is preserved in an unfinished state in the eastern gateway of the north enclosure wall of the temple complex at El Kab (fig. 18).¹¹ The arch was built

Arches

of four concentric rings of regular brick (38 x 15 x 19cm), most likely with an earthen centering.

The entrance doorway to the "Osireion" of Seti I at Abydos consists of a composite arch of a similar type to the arches later employed in the Saite tombs at Thebes (fig. 19).¹² In this example, five concentric rings of curved special bricks are laid on edge as headers. Behind this first layer, five concentric courses of curved special bricks are laid transversely to the passageway, forming a catenary vault. Above this vault, three rings of regular bricks form a semi-circular vault. The passageway is roofed in this manner for approximately 2.5 meters, where it continues through the sandstone bedrock 63 meters to the antechamber of the temple.

The arched entrances of the Saite tombs

It is likely that both the northern and western pylons of the Saite tombs had arched entrances. Only the east pylon of Mentuemhet, Pylon II of the tomb of Sheshonq and the eastern pylon of tomb 197 (Pedineith) retain their entrance vaults. The massive arch of Mentuemhet (spanning 3.2m and 8m height to the crown of the arch) remains the most prominent landmark of the Assasif (fig. 20).

The pylons of the Saite tombs were constructed with composite arches. Several rings of thin special brick

Arches

(averaging 20 x 11 x 4cm) form a catenary arch, used as centering for semi-circular rings of regular brick. In the eastern gateway of tomb 34, six rings of ordinary brick remain, and it may be estimated that four rings, most likely of special brick, have disappeared from the inside (figs. 21 and 22).¹³

Directly to the east of this pylon, the eastern pylon of the tomb of Pedineith stands as the only extant portion of the superstructure of tomb 197 (fig. 23). Two arch rings of special bricks (21 x 10.5 x 4cm) are placed on edge, as stretchers, to support two rings of regular bricks, laid transversely. The span of the arch is 3.0m, while the height (4.10m), in comparison to the pylon of Mentuemhet, is proportionally smaller.

Although Pylon I of the tomb of Sheshonq remains intact to a height of 8.2m, the arch of the doorway has been destroyed, and the passageway through the pylon filled with brick. The arch of Pylon II is well preserved, and consists of one row of special bricks, again placed on edge as stretchers, and three arch rings of regular brick. The vault spans 2.8m and has a height of 5.7m (fig. 24).

The spring of each successive ring in these composite arches is slightly higher than the ring below, a characteristic which gives this method of spanning the doorway

Arches

very great strength.¹⁴

It has been suggested that the arches of the Saite pylons, which appear to the contemporary visitor as the most distinctive element of the superstructure, were concealed by a brick or stone facing on the original pylon.¹⁵ A. Donadoni, in his discussion of the pylon of Sheshonq, remarks,

"on peut très bien voir par la lumière frissante le contour de l'architrave à gorge que l'on avait appliquée en haut pour masquer cet arc qui n'était qu'un expédient technique déterminé par l'emploi des briques crues, mais qui aurait gêné un oeil égyptien."¹⁶

Evidence of such an architrave is most difficult to perceive, but the present condition of the eastern face of Pylon II of tomb 27 seems to indicate that the arch of this pylon could have been concealed with at least one layer of brick (fig. 25). Indications of stone facing on these pylons are limited to limestone thresholds extant in several of the doorways and loose blocks from the lower doorway and thicknesses of the tomb of Mutirdis.¹⁷

If these entrances were, in fact, spanned with horizontal lintels, they would have been much closer in appearance to the typical Egyptian cult and mortuary temples. If the arches of the Saite tombs were concealed, their intended function would have been to serve as relieving arches, in a manner similar to the brick arches

Arches

employed above the burial chamber in the pyramids of the Middle Kingdom.¹⁸

There are no extant pylons or representational evidence of pylons with rounded or vaulted doorways in earlier periods of Egyptian architecture.¹⁹ The closest comparison, occurring in the funerary architecture of the New Kingdom, is a type of private Theban tomb which had a projecting entrance resembling a round-topped stela. In the tomb of Nebamun, no. 181, dating to the mid-XVIIIth dynasty, a scene of a funeral which is located on the northern wall of the broad hall, depicts a tomb of this type.²⁰ A. Badawy comments, the "façade shows a high structure roofed over with a flat vault, under which runs a frieze of four rows of circles and a rounded niche." (fig. 26)²¹

During the so-called "Kushite or Nubian" period immediately preceding the Saite dynasty, a new type of tomb appears in Nubian royal cemeteries, which incorporates a rock-cut pylon with an arched entrance doorway.

At the time of the Kushite advance northward into Upper Egypt (ca. 760 B.C.) under Kashta, the father of the founder of the XXVth dynasty, the Kushites began to adopt Egyptian burial customs.²² This included the east/west orientation of tombs and mummification. The traditional Nubian burial on a funerary bed was replaced by the

Arches

Egyptian coffin. Kashta's son, Piye (the name was formerly read Piankhy), was buried at El Kurru (Ku 17) and initiated a new type of tomb (fig. 27)²³ The superstructure (destroyed) was probably a steep-sided pyramid, like those of other later Nubian royal burials, fronted on its eastern face with a brick or masonry cult chapel. A stairway descended from the east into the bedrock, and through an arched entrance doorway to a rectangular burial chamber located beneath the pyramid. This was to remain the basic plan for the Kushite royal tombs until over a millennium later, when the Kushite kingdom came to an end.²⁴

The use of the arched entrance doorway is continued in the royal cemetery at Nuri (ca. 690-308 B.C.) where it is frequently embellished with a molded torus, sun disk and double uraii. This configuration may be seen, for example, in tomb Nu 47 (ca. 503-478 B.C.) (fig. 28).²⁵

Since the entrance doorways of these Nubian tombs were cut from the bedrock, the use of the arched doorway cannot be ascribed to the economy of the arch as a building technique. It would be unlikely that these arched doorways influenced Saite builders in the North, though they could reflect a New Kingdom influence from Thebes.

In conclusion, the use of the arch or vault is not conspicuous in Egyptian architecture, but these forms do

Arches

appear in various contexts from the Old Kingdom onward. Semi-circular arches are initially employed in funerary architecture as an economical means of roofing interior doorways (Bêt Khallâf, Reqaqnah) and small chambers (Giza). The catenary arch or vault is also seen during the Old Kingdom to roof extensive magazines (the Ramesseum, Thebes). The gateway of the temple complex at El Kab (Middle Kingdom) represents the first use of the semi-circular arch on a massive scale. The composite arch, combining the catenary and semi-circular arch, is employed for the entrance to the Osireion (Abydos) during the XIXth dynasty. The entrance pylons of the Saite tombs employ the same constructional technique (composite arch) seen at Abydos. The Saite arches may originally have been concealed with horizontal lintels. There is little evidence for the use of an arched or vaulted entrance in New Kingdom (tomb of Nebamun) or Late Period (Nuri, el Kurru) funerary architecture. If hidden, the Saite composite arch would have served as a relieving device and the appearance of the façade would have more closely resembled that of a New Kingdom mortuary temple.

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Arches of the Entrance Pylon - Notes

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Recessed Panelling of Enclosure Walls

Recessed panelling appears on the exterior façades of the enclosure walls of three of the Saite tombs: Pedamenopet (no. 33), Pedihorresnet (196) and Sheshonq (27). The poor state of preservation of the other tombs makes it impossible to determine if this architectural feature was also present. In addition, recessed panelling appears on the internal massif of the burial chamber of the tomb of Pedamenopet. Examples of this element are known dating from the New Kingdom at Thebes: in the tomb of Amenuser, no. 131, and the south retaining wall of the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut.¹

Pedamenopet - The northwest portion of the enclosure wall is the only extant section displaying brick panelling (fig. 29). The plan of the recesses in this area consists of two simple niches alternating with a double compound niche (two simple niches set within their own rectangular recess) (figs. 30, 31, 32). Bricks (approximately 24 x 12 x 6cm) are laid in alternate courses of headers and stretchers, with only a few half-bricks used.²

The internal massif of the burial chamber (15m long x 10m x 8.17m high) is constructed in the shape of a sarcophagus and has simplified panelling on its exterior walls (fig. 33).³ Panels carved from the bedrock forming the massif serve as a background for four pairs of protecting

Recessed panelling

goddesses with out-stretched wings: Nut and Ma'at, Neith and Shenait, Isis and Nephthys, and Selket and Hathor.⁴

Pedihorresnet - The façade of the pylon itself, in addition to the enclosure walls, shows a series of niches. Each side of the pylon displays a double compound niche between two simple niches (fig. 34). This pattern is continued on the width of one stretcher.⁵ The superstructure of tomb 196, preserved to the height of one meter, is presently undergoing reconstruction by the Belgian Expedition in Egypt, under the direction of H. de Meulenaere (fig. 35).⁶

Sheshonq - In contrast to the entrance façade of tomb 196, the eastern façade of tomb 27 consists of a combination of two distinct elements - a central, single-towered pylon (17.2m wide x 3.1m), flanked by enclosure walls with recessed panelling which extend 3.7 meters on either side of the pylon.⁷ S. Donadoni, in his preliminary report on the tomb of Sheshonq, points out the intentional juxtaposition of the archaically inspired recessed panelling to "un système plus moderne - celui des pylônes."⁸ This contrast may be seen in a reconstruction of the façade by Prisse D'Avennes, drawn in 1878, when the superstructure was in a better state of preservation (fig. 36).⁹

It is possible that the façade of tomb 34 presented an

Recessed panelling

appearance similar to that of tomb 27, with its enclosure walls also extending several meters on either side of the eastern pylon (see key map). The north and south enclosure walls of the tomb of Sheshonq (west wall destroyed) display eleven pairs of simple niches (originally 3.5m high) alternating with a double compound niche. In the central portion of both the north and south façades, two smaller rectangular "doorway" niches (2m x 1.4m) replace the double compound niches (figs. 36, 37).

The use of recessed panelling in Egyptian architecture is generally believed to refer to multi-niched archaic palace enclosures.¹⁰ Such structures were widely imitated in the exterior façades of mastabas (Ist-IIIrd dynasties), the enclosure walls of mortuary temples (IIIrd, XIIth dynasties), and wooden and stone sarcophagi (Iv-VIth dynasties, and Middle Kingdom).¹¹ The motif is also included in the serekh panel, an element frequently depicted on royal archaic monuments, consisting of a rectangle containing the Horus-name of the king above a paneled façade.¹²

As K. Weeks reminds us in his preliminary report on the early dynastic palace at Hierakonpolis, a large body of literature has been published concerning the origin of the "palace-façade" motif, and it need not be retraced here.¹³

It is the plan of the palace doorway flanked by two

Recessed panelling

recesses and set between towering protruding bastions (each with three compound niches) which is most frequently repeated in the exterior façades of archaic tombs (fig. 38). Examples dating to the 1st dynasty are located at Saqqara, Giza, Helwan, Nagada and Abydos.¹⁴ The basic configuration of niches may be repeated several times, as in the tomb of Queen Herneith at Saqqara, dating to the early 1st dynasty (fig. 39).¹⁵ The west façade of tomb 3506 at Saqqara, clearly shows this configuration (fig. 40).¹⁶ For comparison, see fig. 41, the Vth dynasty limestone sarcophagus of Ra'wer from Giza.¹⁷

The last mastaba with the "palace-façade" panelling on all four sides of the superstructure is the tomb designated Giza T, constructed during the late IIInd dynasty.¹⁸ During the Old Kingdom, the motif finds continued usage in tomb architecture: on the eastern façade of the mastaba (QS 2405 of Hesy-Re', IIIrd dynasty),¹⁹ the exterior chapels on the eastern façades of tombs (from the late 1st dynasty to the end of the Old Kingdom),²⁰ and in interior chapels of tombs (from the late IIIrd dynasty).²¹

The numerous recesses of the mastaba faces most likely served as multiple dummy-doors for the ka of the deceased to pass from the tomb to receive the periodic offerings of food and drink necessary in the afterlife.²² Ka-doors were also

Recessed panelling

located within the substructure, and as Reisner notes, they "were often made inside the burial chamber to permit exit and entrance from the actual burial place itself and may be assumed to have been in some sort of communication with the ka-doors above ground."²³ The multiple ka doors were later replaced by a single "false door" found inside the tomb.²⁴

It has been proposed by W.B. Emery, that in the process of "architectural evolution," the palace-façade mastaba underwent a gradual reduction to a "recessed enclosure wall which surrounded the greatly enlarged and heightened pyramid structure covering the burial chamber."²⁵ He cites as an example, the massive (954 x 227m) enclosure walls of the funerary complex of Neterikhet Djoser at Saqqara from the IIIrd dynasty (fig. 42). Recessed panelling continues to be used on the outer faces of enclosure walls surrounding pyramids during the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period: pyramid of Sensusert II at El Lahun (XIIth dynasty) (fig. 43)²⁶ and pyramid of Khendjer at Saqqara (XIIIth dynasty).²⁷ The more complex "palace-façade" panelling, as seen in the archaic mastabas, does not find continued usage in architecture. It is, however, seen as a motif with the Horus name of the king on panels (1m wide) on the limestone inner girdle wall of the mortuary temple of Senusert I at Lisht.²⁸

Recessed panelling

During the New Kingdom, recessed panelling is not widely used. It appears in two structures at Thebes: tomb no. 131 of Amenuser, located in Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna, and in the retaining wall of the mortuary complex of Queen Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahri.

The tomb of Amenuser, dating to the reign of Tuthmosis III, appears to be the only Theban tomb from the New Kingdom which has a series of recessed niches cut into the bedrock forming the entrance façade (fig. 44).²⁹ Several other New Kingdom tombs have niches cut into the façade or open court, but these were intended to contain statues of the tomb owner. The tomb of Paser (no. 106) from the XIXth dynasty, has nine Osiride statues of the deceased in niches in the northern, western, and eastern walls of the court which precedes the tomb entrance.³⁰

The façade of tomb no. 131 consists of four compound niches alternating with narrow simple niches on either side of the entrance doorway (fig. 45). Inscriptions within the compound niches and flanking the doorway list titles of Amenuser.³¹ The tomb owner appears twice above the doorway in a symmetrical composition, standing with a hand extended over a heavily-laden offering table.³² The overall appearance of the face of tomb no. 131 may be more closely compared to the use of false-door stelae in the courts and

Recessed panelling

façades of New Kingdom tombs at Thebes³³ than to the tradition of recessed panelling in funerary architecture from earlier periods. The tomb of Puymere' (no. 39, dating to the reign of Thutmosis III) for example, has six stelae with autobiographical texts located in the court preceding the entrance to the tomb.³⁴

Recessed panelling also appears on the southern retaining wall of the mortuary complex of Hatshepsut (XVIIIth dynasty) at Deir el-Bahri.³⁵ The wall consists of finely jointed limestone masonry, and is approximately 70 meters in length, and 7.5 meters high. Thirty-six pairs of compound niches, with recesses in very slight relief (91 - 1.5cm) and angled, comprise the panelling (fig. 46). S. Clarke refers to the shallowness of the niches in his description of the wall, "only in the glowing sunlight of Egypt would such a method of work have any (visual) effect."³⁶ Alternate niches are surmounted with the royal falcon or uraeus, forming serekh panels (figs. 47, 48).³⁷ The panelling of Hatshepsut can be connected to the Old and Middle Kingdom traditions of recessed panelling from royal funerary monuments, although the depth of the recesses been flattened, forming a very shallow pattern.

These two New Kingdom examples indicate that the Saite architects must have had another source of inspiration for

Recessed panelling

the complex recessed panelling of the Saite tombs. It appears that they sought to emulate the form and context of the "palace-façade" niches from funerary architecture and monuments of the Old and Middle Kingdoms. The deep niches from the tomb of Pedamenopet create an effect which closely resembles the elaborate patterns of niching from the façades of archaic Thinite tombs. The emphasis on verticality created by the shallower recesses (with the contribution of 8.2 meters of extant height) is more reminiscent of the paired simple niches of the limestone enclosure walls from the funerary complex of Neterikhet Djoser at Saqqara.³⁸ The Saite pattern of two single niches alternating with a double compound niche appears almost as a one-dimensional schematic representation of the paired niches within protruding bastions of the wall of the Djoser complex (compare figures 36 and 49, 50, 51).

It is difficult to speculate why Saite builders chose to incorporate recessed panelling into the tomb superstructures. The motif was long associated with monuments of influential leaders, although it was also used in private tombs and sarcophagi, as discussed in preceding pages. The "palace-façade" motif is believed to have been originally derived from royal domestic architecture. Thus, it may

Recessed panelling

have been used along with many other elements which correspond to aspects of domestic architecture - contributing to the concept of the tomb as the "House of Eternity" (see chapter on the influence of domestic architecture on the tomb plan).

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Funerary Cones from Tomb Façades

Examples of funerary cones are known from the Saite tombs of Mentuemhet,¹ Pedihorresnet,² Ibi³ and Sheshonq.⁴ These baked clay cones, approximately 25-35 centimeters in length, have stamped inscriptions on their bases and are believed to have been inserted in tomb façades. As A. Badawy notes,

"A minor element that seems to have been attested until now only in New Kingdom superstructures is one or more rows of cones set at the top of the façade of the chapel, probably representing the stylized ends of the reeds that roofed archaic huts."⁵

Horizontal rows of circles on representations of tomb façades from wall scenes of several New Kingdom Theban tombs most likely depict similar funerary cones.⁶ Cones are represented in the wall scenes of the following New Kingdom Theban tombs:

		(Location)	(Date)
No. 181	Nebamun	Khokha	Amenhotep III
No. 55	Ra'mose	Qurna	Amenhotep IV
No. 49	Neferhotep	Khokha	Ay
No. 178	Neferronpet	Khokha	Ramesses II
No. 159	Ra'ya	Dra Abu el-Naga	XIXth dynasty

From the above representations, H. Ricke restored perspectives of three façades with funerary cones (fig. 52).⁷

A. Rhind, writing in 1862, provides further evidence for the placement of cones in his reference to their appearance in situ in the Assasif area. He does

Funerary Cones

not identify the tomb, but it is possibly tomb no. 48, belonging to Serer,⁸ whose facade is now destroyed.

Rhind describes:

"A rectangular area had been chiselled into the slope of the crag, until a perpendicular scarp about five and twenty feet long was formed, sufficiently deep for a doorway to be cut into its face. Above the scarp, and flush with it, there remained about two feet of coarse building, in continuation, as it were, of the elevation of the front of the tomb; and I mention this here because, imbedded in the building, and stretching very nearly its entire length, were two rows of clay cones, impressed with a hieroglyphic subject on the ends turned to the light. Cones have been constantly found in the sand about the entrances of the tombs."⁹

This description corresponds fairly closely with the appearance of the façades in the reconstructions of Ricke.

The presence of cones in the Saite tombs has been attributed to the intentional "Renaissance of the Saite Period,"¹⁰ but it appears that they are based upon relatively recent prototypes from the New Kingdom. Remarks by J. Leclant also imply that the Saite cones represent the borrowing of an element from New Kingdom tombs. He notes that the majority of extant cones may be dated to the XVIIIth dynasty, and that their use becomes less frequent after the reign of Amenhotep IV. He adds, "serait-ce 'par esprit d'archaïsme' que quelques personages des XXII^e et XXV-XXVI^e dynasties en font usage."¹¹

Funerary Cones

The bases of the cones themselves are inscribed in sunk hieroglyphs with the name and titles of the owner of the tomb, and at times, the names of one or both of his parents. The text is most frequently divided into four horizontal rows of hieroglyphs. During the New Kingdom, a reference to Osiris often opens the inscription:

☉ 𓂏 44 ☉ 𓂏 𓂏 im3hy hr Wsir "He who is revered before Osiris."¹² This tradition is continued in the cones of the Late period, although it is omitted in several of the cones from the tomb of Mentuemhet.¹³


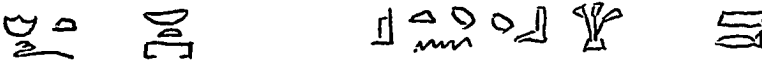
Individuals are most commonly represented by one or two types of cones. Mentuemhet is exceptional in the variety and abundance of cones found in the area around his tomb. J. Leclant has identified and systematically studied ten variants of cone types¹⁴ and his work need not be repeated in full here. The following will briefly summarize and give examples.

Types 1-9 consist of four horizontal lines of hieroglyphic text with names and titles of Mentuemhet. Types 3-9 also include mention of his mother, eldest son, or wives. Type 10, which will be compared below to a similar cone of Pedihorresnet, depicts two orant figures, a solar bark and two vertical lines of text.


Cone Type 6 is typical of types 1-9 (fig. 53). The

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text is as follows:


im3hy hr Wsir, iry-p't h3ty-' Mntw-m-h3t, m3'-hrw,
 "He who is revered before Osiris, Noble and Prince
 Mentuemhet, justified

hmt.f nbt-pr St-n-hb(1), m3'-hrw
 his wife(?) Lady of the House, Esenkhebi, justified."

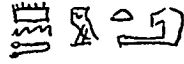

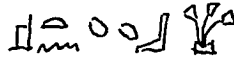
The combination of titles, iry-p't h3ty-', appears frequently on statues of Mentuemhet - Cairo C.G. 42238, Cairo C.G. 1098, British Museum 1643, Berlin 17271.²⁰ Leclant notes that these titles serve somewhat as a summary of the traditional sequence of titles, iry-p't h3ty-', sd3wty bity, smr w'ty, n mrwt, "Noble and Prince, Seal Bearer of the King, sole friend, beloved," which served as traditional titles and epithets from the Old Kingdom onward.²¹

The writing of the name Mentuemhet,  is the most common of the twenty-one spellings found in his tomb and numerous monuments.²²

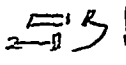
Cone Type 6 of Mentuemhet names Esenkhebi as hmt.f nbt-pr. The inscription from a fragment of a black granite group statue depicting Mentuemhet and his son Nesptah is more explicit in defining his relationship to


Funerary Cones

Ēsenkhebi.²³ The inscription reads:

  
Mntw-m-h3t ms n nbt-pr St-n-hb(1)

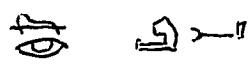
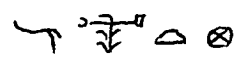
"Mentuemhet, born to 'Lady of the House' Ēsenkhebi."

Cone Type 10 of Mentuemhet, is a variant which, according to Davies-Macadam,²⁴ appears only during the Late Period. Five other examples are cited in this work, including a cone belonging to a Saite tomb owner, Pedihor-resnet. The cone of Mentuemhet (Macadam no. 604) has two vertical lines of inscription occupying its central portion (fig. 54). On either side, two symmetrical figures kneel on nb signs, with the inscription  m3'-hrw "justified" above their heads. At the top of the cone, a sacred bark carries a sun disk. The text reads as follows:

right
column 
 (im3hy hr) Wsir hm-ntr 4.nw (n) 1mn

"(He who is revered before) Osiris, Fourth Prophet
 of Amun

Mntw-m-h3t
 Mentuemhet"

left
column  
 (im3hy hr) Wsir h3ty-' mr-sm'w

"(He who is revered before) Osiris, Prince, Overseer
 of Upper Egypt

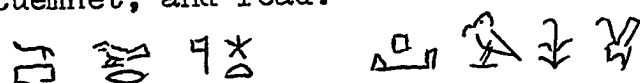
Mntw-m-h3t
 Mentuemhet"



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Mentuemhet's title, "Fourth Prophet of Amun," is frequently found on his monuments and in his tomb.²⁵ The title is discussed by Leclant²⁶ and in the chronology portion of this paper, see pp. . The title hm-ntr 4.nw (n) Imn is only found on cones belonging to another official, Imn-htp (Amunhotep), which seems to date to the New Kingdom.²⁷

The combination of Mentuemhet's titles, H3ty-' and mr-sm'w, appears on several of his statues - Cairo Museum nos. 1098, 42237, 646, 42241.²⁸

The cone of Pedihorresnet has two horizontal lines of text enclosed by two kneeling orant figures and a sacred bark carrying a shrine (fig. 55).²⁹ The two columns of inscription are symmetrical, in contrast to the text of Mentuemhet, and read:

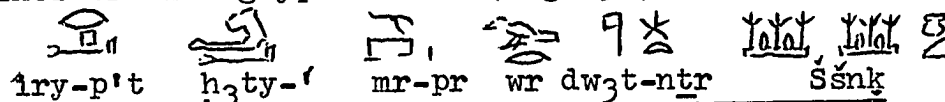

mr-pr wr dw3t-ntr P3-d1 Hr-rsnt

"High Steward of the God's Adoratress Pedihorresnet."
His name appears as  more frequently in his tomb. The sign , is derived from the word nt, "crown of Lower Egypt," and, sporadically replaces n from as early as the XIIth dynasty.³⁰

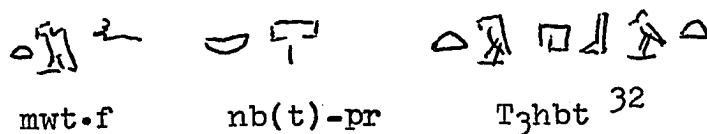
A cone from the tomb of High Steward Sheshonq³¹ is representative of the remaining cones belonging to the

Funerary Cones



Saite tomb owners. The text is written in four horizontal lines of hieroglyphic text (fig. 56) and reads:


 1ry-p't h₃ty-' mr-pr wr dw₃t-ntr ššnk

"Noble and Prince, High Steward of the God's Adoratrix,
 Sheshonq


 mwt.f nb(t)-pr T₃hbt ³²

his mother, Lady of the House, Tahibet."³³

Sheshonq's name is more frequently written as  in his tomb, no. 27 in the Assasif.³⁴ As A. Rocatti points out, the variant which appears on the cone,  also is seen in the tomb, on the east and west walls of the entrance stairway.³⁵ Although the tomb of Sheshonq has not been completely cleared, the name of his mother, Tahibet, has only been found on this funerary cone.

Funerary cones have provided a new source of names for the inhabitants of the Theban Necropolis, many of whose burials have never been discovered.³⁶ The Saite cones provide information which is well-known from the inscriptions of the tombs themselves, with the exception of an addition to the genealogy of Sheshonq.

In conclusion, the Saite cone is a minor architectural element which represents a continuation of New Kingdom funerary tradition. The insertion of funerary

Funerary Cones

cones into the tomb façade has been referred to as the adoption of a tectonic element from archaic roofed huts. This incorporation of elements first executed in a different context and material is very prevalent in monumental architecture of both mudbrick and stone from the IIIrd dynasty onwards.³⁷ The inscriptions from the cones are both honorific and religious. The texts repeat the names, titles and genealogy of the deceased and re-emphasize that he is revered and "justified" before Osiris (on the Day of Judgement).

Funerary Cones - Notes

1. Leclant, J., Montouemhat, Quatrième Prophète d'Amon, (Cairo, 1961), pp. 156-165.
2. n.a., "Fouilles de l'Assasif '1970-1975.'" Chronique d'Egypte L (Jan-Jul 1975), p. 33.
3. Ibid., pp. 19, 22.
4. Donadoni, S., "Première Campagne de Fouilles de l'Université de Rome à l'Assasif (1970) - Rapport Preliminaire," ASAE LXI (1973), p. 15, note 2.
5. Badawy, A., Egyptian Architecture III, pp. 441-442.
6. Borchardt, L., O. Königsberger and H. Ricke, "Friesiegel in Grabbauten," A.Z. 70 (1934), pp. 25-35.
7. Ibid., figs. 5, 6, 7.
8. Säve-Söderbergh, T., Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs, (Oxford, 1957), pp. 33-49.
9. Rhind, A.H., Thebes, It's Tombs and their Tenants, (London, 1862), pp. 136-137.
10. Borchardt, op. cit., p. 32, note 1.
11. Leclant, op. cit., p. 156.
12. Faulkner, R., A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian, (Oxford, 1962), p. 20.
13. Leclant, op. cit., pp. 156-165 (Document 37).
14. Leclant, J., "Recherches sur les Monuments Thébains de la XXV^e Dynastie dite 'Ethiopienne'" (Dissertation) Sorbonne (Paris, 1955).
15. Faulkner, op. cit., p. 20.
16. Leclant, Montouemhat, p. 251.
17. Ibid., p. 241.
18. Faulkner, op. cit., p. 129.
19. Porter and Moss, Bibliography, I (1), p. 56.
20. Leclant, Montouemhat, p. 251.

Funerary Cones - Notes

21. Ibid., p. 269.

Helck, W. Untersuchungen zu den Beamten Titeln des ägyptischen alten Reiches, (New York, 1954), p. 111.

22. Leclant, Montouemhat, pp. 241-243.

23. Legrain, G., Catalogue général des antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, III (Cairo, 1914), pp. 92-94.

24. Davies, N. de G., and M.F.L. Macadam, A Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones, (Oxford, 1956), Cones 601, 602, 604, 605, 609, 610.

25. Leclant, op. cit., p. 255.

26. Ibid., p. 278-279.

27. Davies-Macadam, op. cit., Cone no. 162.

28. Leclant, op. cit., p. 253.

29. Davies-Macadam, op. cit., Cone no. 609.

30. Gardiner, A., Egyptian Grammar, (London, 1966), p. 27, note 4.

Petrie, W. Giza and Rifeh, (London, 1907), 13g.

31. Davies-Macadam, op. cit., Cone no. 444.

32. Gardiner, op. cit., p. 470

Brugsch, H., Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegypticarum, (Leipzig, 1883-1891), 1075.

33. Porter and Moss, Bibliography, I, 1, 2nd. ed., p. 43.

34. Ibid., p. 43.

35. Rocatti, A. "Le Iscrizioni Della Scala," Oriens Antiquus XII (1973), p. 25; fig. 1, col. 1; fig. 2, cols. 13, 32, 33.

36. Davies-Macadam, op. cit., v.

37. Badawy, op. cit., I, pp. 79-87.

Blind Niche in the Superstructure

The second pylon of the superstructure of the tomb of Sheshonq (no. 27) has a central archway (4.50m high, 2.30m side) which upon cursory examination, appears as a doorway (fig. 57).¹ Extending to the northwest beneath the arch is a blind niche, 2.2 meters deep and the width of the archway. The niche is visible in a recent photograph (fig. 58) and is preserved to a height of approximately twenty centimeters. The mudbrick walls of the niche were originally coated with white plaster and floor paved with stone.

The actual door (1.6m wide) to the second courtyard appears to have been located in the southern portion of the second pylon. It was sealed with brick and stone when the first court was divided for living quarters.²

There are no indications of the intended function of this niche, although its position along the central axis of the tomb superstructure points to its importance. S. Donadoni, who directed the partial clearing of the tomb by the expedition of the University of Rome in 1970, comments,

"(cette) niche qui a évidemment une fonction assez importante dans l'économie de l'ensemble pour qu'on puisse lui donner cette place d'honneur."³

The use of a blind niche lying along the main axis of a structure is not common in Egyptian architecture. Two examples are found in New Kingdom funerary architecture

Blind Niche

and are described in the following pages.

One of the two tombs built for Ramesses III in the Valley of the Kings (no. 11) has a shift in the axis which is marked by a vaulted blind niche, semi-circular in plan.⁴ The corridor of this length, rock-cut tomb is displaced to the right (fig. 59). This feature may have been the result of an accidental breakthrough into the neighboring tomb (no. 10 of king Amenmeses, XIXth dynasty).⁵ This break can still be seen high on the left wall near the springing of the vault.⁶ In this example, an apparent constructional flaw becomes a successful design element. As one scholar comments, "an ingenious planning device characteristic of Renaissance architecture about three millennia later."⁷

A XXIst dynasty tomb at El Amrah has a blind niche built along the main axis of the superstructure, which may be more closely compared to the tomb of Sheshonq. The tomb of Pasebakhanu is located in cemetery D, six miles southeast of the royal tombs at Abydos.⁸ This site was first used as a necropolis at the end of the Middle Kingdom.

The tomb consists of a mudbrick superstructure which does not appear to have had an entrance.⁹ The first court encloses a brick rectangle which marks the entrance to the

Blind Niche

shaft and burial chambers (fig. 60). A niche is constructed in the central portion of the wall dividing the two courts, a feature of the plan differing from tombs of preceding dynasties. Entrance to the second court is through a doorway in the northern end of this dividing wall. The burial apartments consist of five uninscribed rooms, lying to the south of the shaft. A limestone stela belonging to the owner of the tomb was found midway in the shaft, buried in the rubble with which it was later filled (fig. 61). The well-preserved stela depicts Pasebakhanu worshipping Osiris, Horus and Isis. The text records offerings to these gods, as well as Anubis, Thoth and Ptah.¹⁰ A.C. Mace, who participated in the clearance of this tomb in 1899-1901, wrote, "The original position of the stela is indicated pretty clearly by the niche in the small offering chamber."¹¹ His remark can only be interpreted as a reference to the axial blind niche in the superstructure of the tomb.

During the New Kingdom at Thebes, the tomb stela constitutes an integral part of the tomb. Stelae were located on the lateral walls of the broad hall (tombs 18, 56, 85, 89, 155), on the entrance façade (87, 214, 224), or erected in the forecourt (11, 23, 41, 39, 51, 106).¹² The majority of tomb stelae from the early New Kingdom

Blind Niche

represent offerings presented to the deceased.¹³ During the reign of Thutmosis III and continuing through the Ramesside period, offerings to the gods, primarily Osiris, became the most prevalent theme.¹⁴ The spacious forecourts of the superstructure of the Saite tombs represent an enlargement of the forecourt of the New Kingdom tomb. The central blind niche from the tomb of Sheshonq might have served as a focal point for offerings to the gods.

Blind Niche - Notes

1. Donadoni, S., "Première Campagne de Fouilles de l'Université de Rome à l'Asasif (1970) - Rapport Preliminaire," ASAE LXI (1973), pp. 11-20.
2. Ibid., p. 14.
3. Ibid., p. 15.
4. Lefébvre, G., "Les Hypogées royaux de Thebes," Mem. Miss., III (I), pp. 87-120.

Porter and Moss, Bibliography, I, (2), 2nd ed., pp. 518-527.
5. Lefébvre, G., op. cit., pp. 81-85.

Porter and Moss, op. cit., pp. 517-518.
6. Maystre, M.C., "The Valley of the Kings," Égypte, (Geneva, 1976), p. 511.
7. Badawy, A., Egyptian Architecture, III, p. 444.
8. Randall-MacIver, D. and A.C. Mace, El Amrah and Abydos 1899-1901, (London, 1902), pp. 77-78.
9. Ibid., p. 77.
10. Griffith, F., "The Inscriptions," from Randall-MacIver, D., and A.C. Mace, op. cit., p. 94.
11. Ibid., p. 94.
12. Abdul-Qader, M., The Development of the Funerary Beliefs and Practices Displayed in the Private Tombs of the New Kingdom at Thebes, (Cairo, 1966), pp. 33-36.
13. Ibid., p. 38.
14. Ibid., pp. 39-40.

The Sunken Court

During the period from the XVIIIth to the XXth dynasties a number of elements were introduced to enlarge the basic plan of the private Theban tomb. Among these was the integration of a sunken court into the tomb plan. The use of a carefully delineated courtyard fronting the tomb is known in Thebes since the XIth dynasty. An example of this may be seen in the rock-cut tomb of Meketre' (no. 280) which has a deep courtyard fronting the columned portico and entrance to the tomb (fig. 62).¹ The court is situated at the same level as the tomb. It is not until the XVIIIth dynasty that the courtyard is fully enclosed, provided with a corridor entrance, and located below the level of the surrounding terrain, as is the tomb proper.

The tomb of Kheruef (no. 192) appears to be the first example of this configuration (fig. 63).² Kheruef served as a high official of Amenhotep III and later to Amenhotep IV before the move to Amarna; thus the tomb may be dated to the late XVIIIth dynasty. This important tomb has not received the attention that it merits due to the fact that its location remained undetermined from shortly after its discovery by Erman in 1885 until its rediscovery in 1941.³

The tomb of Kheruef is entered through an axial east/west corridor which opens directly onto the court. The court itself is nearly square, approximately 26 meters to

Court

each side. Porticos, at right angles to the axis of the tomb, line both the eastern and western sides to the front and rear of the court. They are unfinished, as is a major portion of the tomb's wall scenes. Fakhry notes that each portico was supported by "eight fluted columns with flat surfaces on each side for inscriptions."⁴ L. Habachi comments that the court was most probably left open, judging by its size and the poor quality of the stone in this area of the Assasif.⁵

The remaining portions of the tomb of Kheruef are much in keeping with the typical plan of the private Theban tomb of the New Kingdom. A door in the central portion of the rear wall of the court, opposite the entrance, leads to the broad hall. Here, the ceiling is supported by massive stone columns as in other contemporary tombs, Ra'mose (no. 55)⁶ or Serer (no. 48).⁷ The broad hall appears to have had thirty columns arranged in three rows of five columns each, on either side of, and at right angles to the central nave. As Habachi reports, "The row nearest the court is formed of fluted columns inscribed on four faces, while the other two rows consist of uninscribed papyrus-bud columns."⁸

Beyond is the deep hall, the roof of which appears to have been supported by two rows of eleven pillars each,

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forming a central passage and side aisles. At the rear of the hall is an irregularly-shaped antechamber leading to a shrine with a semi-circular niche, described by Habachi as a probably later addition.⁹

The overall dimension of this tomb, approximately 70 meters in length and 25 meters wide, and the high quality of its wall reliefs,¹⁰ combine to make it one of the most impressive tombs of nobles in the Theban necropolis. In his discussion of additions to the court, Habachi answers the question of the tomb's accessibility during later periods, "All these tombs are carved in or close to the Court; thus showing that it was open during the Ramesside and Saite Periods."¹¹ Saite draftsmen are known to have made direct copies of certain elements, such as wall scenes, from nearby tombs. The location of the tomb of Kheruef in the Assasif, and thus its proximity to the Saite tombs, suggest that the Saite builders were familiar with the plan of this tomb.

It should be pointed out that the double-porticoed court in the tomb of Kheruef has no parallel in the Saite tombs. The closest comparison is the tomb of Mentuemhet which has a single portico placed at the far end of the court, at right angles to the axis of the tomb. The plan of the typical Saite tomb, however, has porticos along both

Court

sides of the court, an element which appears in the private Theban tombs of the XIXth dynasty.

A. Badawy notes that the first example of this configuration is found in the tomb of Ipy (no. 41) during the reign of Ramesses I, and comments that this "formed a feature perhaps inspired from similar ones in the courts of temples, aiming at emphasizing the central axis."¹² Following is a brief description of the tomb of Ipy (fig. 64).¹³

Access is provided by a central stairway which opens directly onto the court. Pillared porticos stand along both of the longitudinal sides. A central door in the far wall of the court leads to a broad hall which has a central row of pillars. Beyond is a columnless deep hall and a shrine which has two lateral niches, each with a central statue niche.

A further development in the use of a court with side aisles may be found in a tomb of a slightly later period, that of Tjoy (no. 23) from the reign of Merneptah (fig. 65).¹⁴ The entrance to the tomb is similar to the preceding example - a staircase descends directly to the central area of the court. The porticos, running along both longitudinal sides of the court, are formed by five columns. But in this case, a main portico with four massive pillars and antae is added to the rear of the court along

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the front façade, marking the entrance to the subterranean rooms of the tomb. The pillared façades of Middle Kingdom tombs at Thebes (Meketre', Dage,¹⁵ etc.) were most likely the source of inspiration for this main portico.

In conclusion, the court of the tomb of Kheruef is very similar in concept to the Saite tombs - fully enclosed and situated below the level of the surrounding terrain. The tombs of Ipy and Tjoy contain the side and rear porticos which are later seen in the Saite tomb. However, the courts of these New Kingdom examples are not fully integrated into the plan with a lobby and vestibule preceding the court. The sunken court of the Saite tomb should be viewed as an innovative element of Theban tomb architecture from the XXVth and XXVIth dynasties. For dimensions and details of the Saite sunken court see Appendix III (c).

The Sunken Court - Notes

1. Winlock, H., Excavations at Deir el Bahri 1911-1931, (London, 1942), pp. 17-20, fig. 2.
2. Habachi, L., "Clearance of the tomb of Kheruef at Thebes," ASAE LV (1958), pp. 325-332, pls. i-iv.
Fakhry, A., "A Note on the tomb of Kheruef at Thebes," ASAE XLIII (1943), pp. 450-457.
3. Ibid., p. 450.
4. Ibid., p. 455.
5. Habachi, op. cit., p. 330.
6. Davies, N. de G., The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose, (London, 1941), plans and sections, pls. i, ii, lvi.
7. Säve-Söderbergh, T., Four Eighteen Dynasty Tombs, (Oxford, 1957), pp. 33-49, plan pl. lxi.
8. Habachi, op. cit., p. 331.
9. Habachi, op. cit., p. 332.
10. Fakhry, op. cit., p. 451.
11. Habachi, op. cit., p. 349.
12. Badawy, A., Egyptian Architecture, III, P. 414.
13. Porter and Moss, Bibliography, I (1), 2nd ed., pp. 78-81.
Champollion, J.F., Notices Descriptives, I, (Paris, 1844-1979), pp. 526-527.
14. Porter and Moss, op. cit., pp. 38-41.
15. Davies, N. de G., Five Theban Tombs, (London, 1913), pp. 28-39, plan and section, pl. xxxix.

Chapels and Secondary Burials in the Sunken Court

Lateral rooms appear along both long sides of the sunken court in many of the Saite tombs (Harwa, Pedamenopet, Ibi, Pabasa, Pedhorresnet, Sheshonq). These rooms were most likely intended for subsequent burials of relatives or possibly contemporary officials. The majority of these rooms are uninscribed. In the tomb of Mentuemhet, these rooms take the form of individual chapels, and a row of five small chapels open along both the lateral north and south walls of the court. Three of the chapels in the southern row have secondary rooms. Five chapels are dedicated to Mentuemhet, but inscriptions indicate that two of the chapels were intended for other individuals. Chapel E, the westernmost chapel of the southern row, is inscribed with the name of 'Akiu, "Hereditary Prince, Sole Beloved Friend, Great Royal Acquaintance."¹ The thicknesses of the doorways of Chapel F, the easternmost of the northern row, carry the name of Irhepiaut, "Head Bowman of the Cavalry, Head of the Stable of the Lord of the Two Lands."² The remaining chapels, H, J, and I, are unfinished and uninscribed. The chapels have not been excavated, and as a result, their usage as burial chambers cannot be confirmed.

Several of the other Saite tombs have secondary burials accessible from the sunken court, but these examples do not appear to have been part of the original tomb plan.

Chapels

Tomb no. 404 is reached by a doorway in the northwest corner of the court of the tomb of Harwa (see key map). Tomb no. 404 belongs to Akhamenru, Harwa's successor as High Steward to the Divine Adoratress, Shepenupet II.³ The tomb of Akhamenru consists of a square, columnless lobby, a rectangular deep hall with two rows of four pillars forming side aisles, and a series of four small rectangular rooms connected by stairways, leading to the burial chamber.

The tomb of Pedamenopet has two secondary tombs accessible from the sunken court (see key plan). The entrance to the tomb of Wehibrē', no 242, is cut into the central portion of the south wall of the open court of tomb no. 33. Wehibrē' was the Chamberlain of the Divine Adoratress, Ankhnesneferibre, and his term of office makes it likely that this tomb was dedicated several decades after the tomb of Pedamenopet (see chronological chart, fig. 1). The tomb of Wehibrē' consists of a long narrow hall parallel to the main axis of the tomb of Pedamenopet, with a square chapel appended at its western end. The burial shaft is located in the western portion of the hall, preceding the chapel.

Two doorways leading to the anonymous tomb no. 388 are cut into the opposite, northern wall of the sunken court of Pedamenopet.

Chapels

The enlargement of a tomb to accommodate family members was a practice known from the earliest periods of monumental funerary architecture. Such additions may be seen in Old Kingdom mastabas, as in the VIth dynasty tomb of Mereruka at Saqqara.⁵ In this example, a portion of the original tomb was dedicated to Mereruka's wife, Wáetekhethor, the daughter of King Teti. Four small rooms and a serdab were added to the northeastern corner of the structure for his son Meryteti. Proof that this was a later addition may be found in the cutting of a doorway through the wall scenes of the north wall of the main pillared hall of the original tomb, as well as in the plan itself.⁶

Intrusive burials of individuals other than family members were also made in tombs, most likely for reasons of convenience, expense, and availability of space. Examples of intrusive secondary burials may be seen in the XVIIIth dynasty tomb of Kheruef (no. 192), located adjacent to the Saite tombs in the Assasif, and mentioned previously in the discussion of the development of the sunken court.⁷ During the Ramesside period, tombs nos. 26, 189, 194, 364 and 406, each consisting of several small rooms, were cut into the walls of the court of Kheruef. These tombs were positioned with consideration to the original tomb plan of

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Kheruef, as evidenced by the symmetrical arrangement of tombs nos. 194 and 189 on either side of the corridor entrance leading to the court of tomb no. 192. The secondary burials on the tomb of Pedamenopet (nos. 242 and 388) and Harwa (no. 404), were similarly conceived with regard to the orientation and layout of the original tomb plan.

The tomb of Mentuemhet appears to be the only example from the Saite tombs at Thebes in which chapels for secondary burials were incorporated into the plan of the original structure. The titles in the chapels of 'Akiu and Irhepiaut provide no information on their relationship to Mentuemhet. Nor are they referred to in any of the numerous tomb inscriptions or funerary cones in which Mentuemhet records his family members.⁸ If these two individuals were contemporaries, and not relatives of Mentuemhet, the placement of their chapels within the tomb of the highest official of the period may have been intended as a display of opulence by Mentuemhet, or perhaps be related to funerary customs known from the earliest dynasties. Prior to the Middle Kingdom, the greatest chance a noble had for achieving immortality was through a close relationship and service to his king. Only Pharaoh, as a god, was assured eternal life. If the noble built

Chapels

his tomb near that of his king, he would perhaps be called upon for service in the afterlife, and thus also gain immortality.

This tradition continued at Thebes when the city became the capital of Egypt in the XIth dynasty. More than one hundred graves and tombs lie in close proximity to the brick pyramids of kings Intef I and II, and Mentuhotep S'ankhibtawy.⁹ During the late XIth dynasty, the tombs of local officials were built on both sides of the causeway and directed toward the extensive funerary complex of Nebhepetre' Mentuhotep at Deir el-Bahri.¹⁰ During the New Kingdom, this tradition changed as the tombs of the nobles continued to be constructed in the plain of the Theban necropolis, while the tombs of the pharaohs were cut, for reasons of security, at some distance west in the cliffs of Bibân el-Molûk (the Valley of the Kings). The third king of the XVIIIth dynasty, Thutmosis I, initiated this series of isolated burial chambers with his tomb (no. 38) which was cut from the rock at the far end of the valley. Almost all of the following kings of the XVIIIth, XIXth, and XXth dynasties were buried in the Biban el-Moluk. The districts of Dra 'Abu el-Naga, the As sif, el Khokha, Sheikh 'Abd el Qurna, and Qurnet Mar'i expanded with the tombs of the nobles, although several non-royal personages

Chapels

such as Yuya and Tuyu, the parents of Queen Tiy, were buried within the Valley of the Kings.¹¹

The tomb of Mentuemhet, with its contemporaneous chapels of 'Akiu and Irhepiut, and three uninscribed chapels, may represent a return to the tradition of burial of retainers in the vicinity of the highest official of the period. Such a move would be a marked change from the separate private tombs of the New Kingdom at Thebes and may reflect Mentuemhet's vigorous role as governor of Upper Egypt during a long period of political turmoil.

Chapels and Secondary Burials in the Sunken Court - Notes

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The Division of Superstructure and Substructure

And unusual feature of the Saite tomb is the division of the superstructure and substructure into two distinct units. This is accomplished by the use of separate means of approach to each area (North and East pylons). The super- and substructure are linked by the sunken court, an element which is accommodated in both parts of the plan; however, the separate entrances and resulting change in axis create a division which finds no precedent in the tombs of the New Kingdom.

The axial entrance of the superstructure, with one or two pylons, placed perpendicular to the main axis of the plan, closely follows the principle of axial symmetry, which is basic to Egyptian architecture.¹ A similar configuration of pylon, forecourt, and pylon, marks the entrance to both royal and private mortuary temples constructed in the Dra Abu el-Naga, Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna, and Medinet Habu regions of Western Thebes during the New Kingdom.² Amenhotep I (1546-1526 B.C.) was the first of the New Kingdom pharaohs to construct his mortuary temple³ in this area and his successors built similar temples in a row extending to the southwest (fig. 67). As A. Badawy notes, "The separation of the mortuary temples from the tomb itself marks the ultimate attempt at insuring security against tomb robbers."⁴ Tombs of these New

The Division of Superstructure and Substructure

Kingdom pharaohs were built at a distance of approximately 1.5km away in Biban el-Moluk, the "Valley of the Kings".

The largest of the private mortuary temples in this area belonged to Amenhotep, son of Hapu, royal scribe of Amenhotep III.⁵ It is built to the north of the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III (fig. 68) and east of the temples of Ay and Horemheb.⁶ The tomb of Amenhotep, son of Hapu, was recently discovered by D. Bidoldi, while working with the expedition of the German Archeological Institute of Cairo, in the Assasif area of Thebes.⁷ This find confirms the fact that the temple was intended as an independent construction from the tomb. Following is a brief description of the mortuary temple.

The temple is contained within a rectangular brick enclosure wall (103.5 x 44m) and fronted by a two-towered brick pylon (22.5 x 4.5m deep). The entrance doorway is 1.9 meters wide. As in the Saite tombs, the pylon has no interior rooms or stairways. The court is roughly square (80 x 74m) and originally had twenty trees planted around a large central basin with two stairways descending to its floor. At the rear of the court, a columned portico abuts against the second pylon. A central doorway leads to the second court which has side aisles formed of six fluted columns. Four vaulted chambers line the north and south

The Division of Superstructure and Substructure

sides of the court. The remaining portions of the temple consist of a transverse hall with three contiguous chapels encircled by five rectangular rooms which are accessible from the westernmost chapels of the court.

The layout of the superstructure of this temple, with its initial pylon, forecourt and second pylon, is very similar to that of the Saite tomb, as is the configuration of the court with side aisles and chapels. It has been remarked by several scholars that the extensive and complex plan of the Saite tombs was the result of their incorporation of both mortuary temple and tomb proper.⁸ It is likely that the Saite architects turned to the mortuary temples of the New Kingdom, such as the one described above, for certain aspects of the XXVth and XXVIth dynasty tomb at Thebes.

The substructure, however, owing to its function as an actual tomb, draws aspects of its plan from other sources. As noted in the introduction to this section, different means of access distinguish the superstructure and substructure. The lateral approach to the substructure consists of a pylon located to the north and a descending corridor with a ramp or stairway which is placed at a right angle to the main axis of the tomb. This corridor leads to the lobby, vestibule and open court. Several of the

The Division of Superstructure and Substructure

Saite tombs do not have this North Pylon approach: the tombs of Ibi (36), Pedihorresnet (196), Basa (389) and Mutirdis (410). A possible reason for this deviation in plan is limited space due to previous construction (see key map). These four tombs are restricted to the north by earlier tombs. It is likely, as Assmann points out, that future clearance of the tomb of Pedamenopet (no. 33) will reveal remains of a lateral approach, corridor, lobby and vestibule (fig. 69).⁹

The use of the lateral approach is a marked divergence from tombs of the New Kingdom. Parallels may be found in examples of domestic architecture and are discussed along with other corresponding elements in Chapter 4 of this paper.

The distinction between the super- and substructure by means of separate entrances and change in axis may be most clearly compared to a "unique and controversial"¹⁰ building at Abydos, the "Osireion" or cenotaph of Seti I.¹¹ Abydos, the location where Osiris was venerated and his yearly resurrection believed to take place, continued as a cult center until the XXVIth dynasty.¹² The cenotaph is thought to have been built by Seti I so that he would have a resting place at Abydos in addition to this tomb at Thebes.¹³ Several sources have attempted to prove that

The Division of Superstructure and Substructure

the Osireion was intended as a reconstruction of the mythical tomb of Osiris. This conclusion is likely, as is the fact that the Osireion was intended as a place of worship for Seti I as the dead king and as Osiris.¹⁴

The Osireion lies in the western portion of the sacred precinct, joined by parallel retaining walls to the main temples (constructed during the reigns of Seti I and Ramesses II (1313-1234 B.C.)).¹⁵ (fig. 70). The cenotaph is a rectangular subterranean building approximately 30 x 45 meters, lying along an axis which corresponds to the longitudinal axis of the temples. A massive brick pylon entrance is located to the west of the Osireion and most likely served as a gateway to this area of the precinct. Unfortunately, the poor state of preservation and the unfinished condition of the temple allow little information regarding the superstructure. Remains are limited to this pylon gate, extending enclosure walls and tree pits located in rows above the lateral walls of the main subterranean chamber. Evidence from this chamber indicates that it was most likely roofed, not an open courtyard. As in the Saite tombs, the access to the subterranean rooms is by means of a brick gateway and a long (95 meters) sloping vaulted corridor which is placed at a right angle to the main axis of the structure (see Section 2B, p. 39 for constructional details of entrance). The parallel

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elements, separate entrance to the substructure, lengthy corridor, and change in axis serve to emphasize the "netherworldly" and subterranean aspects of the structures - desirable characteristics for the realm of the dead - either in the form of a tomb or cenotaph.

The features mentioned above do not appear in either private or royal tombs at Thebes during the New Kingdom. It is possible that Theban architects were familiar with the major temple of Seti I and the Osireion at Abydos. As remarked above, the temple complex remained a major religious center during the Late Period. The tradition of the pilgrimage to Abydos is documented by numerous funerary stelae and statues which were erected there during the XXVth and XXVith dynasties by non-royal individuals from Thebes.¹⁶

The division of the superstructure and substructure in the Saite tomb appears to result from the combination of elements from the mortuary temple and the tomb (or cenotaph). The superstructure with its axial approach, pylons and forecourts resembles the New Kingdom mortuary temple from Thebes. Independent private mortuary temples are known to have been constructed for officials such as Amenhotep, son of Hapu. The separate entrance, long sloping corridor and change in axis of the substructure

The Division of Superstructure and Substructure

parallel the entrance and approach to the subterranean "Osireion" or cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos. The lateral entrance and change in axis may also be found in examples from domestic architecture and will be discussed in the following chapter.

The Division of the Superstructure and Substructure - Notes

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The Influence of Domestic Architecture on the Tomb Plan of the Saite Period

Tombs from the Saite Period have long been referred to as funerary palaces (Grabpalästen), particularly the larger tombs - of Harwa, Mentuemhet, and Pedamenopet.

J. Leclant, referring to the tomb of Mentuemhet writes,

"ont relevé l'importance de cette tombe, qui, tout comme celle voisine de Petaménopé, se trouve être un vaste 'palais funéraire.'"1

The typical Saite tomb appears to continue the tradition known from the earliest dynasties, the incorporation of elements from domestic architecture. In compliance with the Osirian destiny, the substructure was at times designed as a house.² For example, mastabas from the IIInd dynasty at Saqqara have a series of rooms built within the substructure forming a dummy apartment - complete with latrine, bath and bedroom.³


The basic tripartite configuration of the tomb plan, approach, cult chambers, and burial apartments is paralleled by the reception, living, and private quarters of a large private residence. A typical XVIIIth dynasty house from Amarna, such as that of General Ra'mose (p.47.19) (fig. 71), may be taken as an example.⁴ The tripartite division is indicated on the plan in tan, blue and white and is to be compared to similarly designated areas on the plan of tomb 36 (Ibi) (fig. 72).

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Entrance to the house is provided by a stairway which ascends from the west. A small columnless lobby is appended on the south to a vestibule of similar size and configuration. Beyond is the reception room, or "loggia," a transverse hall with four columns. A central hall opens from the loggia and forms the nucleus of the house. The roof of this hall is carried higher than the surrounding rooms to allow for clerestory lighting. The central hall most likely served as the living room and had a raised dais along the rear wall. On the west wall was a double false-door inscribed with hymns to the Aten, serving as a domestic shrine. Fronting the false-door, a stone platform with water jugs was a place for ablutions. Doorways opened from this hall to the private apartments of the house: a second hall, owner's bedroom, smaller rooms, bathroom and latrine.

The configuration of lobby, antechamber, and vestibule found in the tomb plan recreates, with slight modification, the lobby, vestibule, and antechamber of the house. The terminology varies because the vestibule of the tomb precedes a court rather than a chamber. The sunken court of the tomb may be compared to the central hall of the house where clerestory windows serve as the light source. The sunken courts of the Saite tombs frequently have two rows of


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pillars forming side aisles, a feature seen in the central hall of the house. The arrangement of a raised platform with a stairway approach located at the rear of the court, as seen in the tomb of Mentuemhet, is similar to that of the main dais of the central hall. Another mutual element is the appearance of false-doors, located also on the west wall, in several of the courts of the tombs. Inscriptions from the Old Kingdom evidence the early functioning of the central or broad hall, "wsht" of the palace, as the place of offerings. In the mastaba of Sehotpu⁵ at Giza there is, among the titles of the owner: hrp wsh.t  "Administrator of the 'wsht' of the Palace." Junker notes that the term "hrp" itself may imply "provider of offerings" and that "wsh.t" designates the royal offering hall, the area of the palace in which sacrifices or offerings to the deceased were made.⁶ It is likely that the courts also served as the place of offering for the Saite tombs, as will be discussed in Part III, 1 (F) of this paper.

The appearance of single or double false-doors, major offering scenes and offering list rituals,⁷ and finds of offering tables⁸ in the courts of many of the Saite tombs also serve to reinforce this hypothesis. These elements are fundamental to the layout of the offering room in the Egyptian tomb from the Old Kingdom onward.

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Another element for comparison is the lateral approach and bend in axis which occurs in both the tomb and the house. This characteristic is more readily observable in the plan of Amarna house T 36 11 (fig. 73).⁹ In this example, the plan emphasizes the change in axis with two right-angled turn (one dictated by the "garden chapel") preceding the approach along the front of the house and a 180° turn within the porch, vestibule and antechamber.

Evidence that the above Amarna house plans found continued usage in later periods is seen in a series of XXIst dynasty houses at Medinet Habu, West Thebes. The house of Butehamun , "Royal scribe and overseer of the royal treasury" during the reign of Panedjem I (1054-1009 B.C.), serves as the best example, although it is in somewhat fragmentary condition¹⁰ (fig. 74). Existing mud-brick foundations show a central doorway providing access to a small, two-columned transverse vestibule. Behind this room is the central hall which has two rows of paired columns forming side aisles similar to the Amarna house. At the rear, a stone dais for the owner is placed slightly to the north of the central axis of the hall. The lower portions of pilasters can be seen to either side of the dais. The four palmiform columns of carved monolithic stone, are well preserved, and retain much of their original stucco

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coating and relief. A doorway at the northern end of the west wall of the central hall leads to the nearly destroyed rear rooms of the house.

Modest homes from a later period of occupation at Medinet Habu indicate that the basic house plan described above was maintained during the years immediately prior to the late XXVth - XXVith dynasty building of the Saite tombs. House No. 1, the most completely preserved, is located to the southwest of the Great Temple. As Hölscher indicates, the entrance was, "apparently from the west, through a forecourt"¹¹ (fig. 75). Two main rooms, designated (A) form the central portion, and probably the vestibule and main central hall of the residence. Surrounding these rooms are the private quarters, including a stairway which provided access to a second floor.

In addition to the similarities in basic plan between the Saite tombs and examples from domestic architecture, other factors contributing to their designation as "Grabpalästen" include the massive scale of the tombs themselves - their chambers, corridors and stairways forming a complex sequence of rooms. Also, the inclusion of niches or chambers within the tomb for the interment of subsequent family members contributes to the concept of the deceased as proprietor or benefactor, providing a home for his family in the afterlife.¹²

Domestic Architecture - Notes

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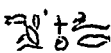
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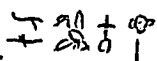
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Survey of Private Theban Tombs from the XXIst to the XXVith Dynasties (End of the New Kingdom to the Saite Period)

The private Theban tomb as seen at the end of the New Kingdom had undergone a continuous development with the gradual adoption of selected new elements. As mentioned previously in this paper, the basic plan is symmetrical with a "broad hall" cut into the rock at the rear of a court, and a "deep hall" and small shrine beyond. Several hundred such examples are known to date from the period between the XVIIIth and XXth dynasties.¹ In contrast, only nine tombs have been recorded for the following period, the XXIst to the XXVith dynasties.² A number of these were usurped from earlier owners and thus cannot be examined in the context of this study. Several additional anonymous tombs of a different type will also be discussed in the following pages. Below is a summary description of these nine known examples with a brief comparison of their plans to the typical New Kingdom private tomb (fig. 76).


THONUFER  (No. 307). Unfinished tomb from XX - XXI dynasties. The only completed portion is the broad hall. Judging from this partial evidence, there is no variation from the New Kingdom plan.³

ESPANEFERHOR  (No. 68) XXI Dynasty.

Head of the temple scribes of the estate of Amun.

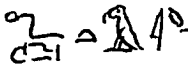
Usurped from the XXth dynasty tomb of (PER?) ANKHAMUN.⁴

Survey of Private Theban Tombs from the XXIst to the XXVth Dynasties

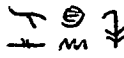
AMUNMOSI  (no. 117) XXI - XXIIInd dynasties.


Overseer of sandal-makers of the estate of Amun.

Usurped from unknown owner.⁵


DJEDMUTEF'ANKH  (no. 117) XXI - XXIIInd dynasties

Outline draftsman of the "House of Gold." Usurped Xith dynasty tomb.⁶

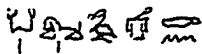
ESKHONS  (no. 337) XXI - XXIIInd dynasties. Usurped from the XIXth dynasty tomb of Ken.⁷

NA'AMUTNAKHT  (no. 348) XXIIInd dynasty.

Usurped from XVIIIth dynasty tomb of unknown Chief Steward.⁸

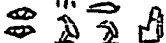
RA'MOSE  (no. 132) XXVth dynasty.

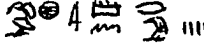
Great Scribe of the King, Overseer of the Treasuries of Taharqa. The only remains of this tomb are a square chapel with two appended side rooms and a rectangular shrine beyond. The burial chamber is located to the west, with access possibly from the shrine.⁹ This configuration is found in New Kingdom tombs.¹⁰

KAREWBASAKEN  (no. 391) XXV dynasty.

Prophet of Khonsemweset-Neferhotep, Fourth Prophet of Amun, Mayor of the City. This tomb may be viewed as the most innovative of this period. It is very similar in plan

Survey of Private Theban Tombs from the XXIst to the XXVth Dynasties

to small tombs of the XXVth dynasty, such as the tomb of
IRTERAU  (no. 390) located nearby in the Assasif.
Both exhibit the elimination of the broad hall from the plan,
and have a deep hall divided into three side aisles by two
rows of four pillars, with a rectangular shrine beyond.¹¹


AKHAMENEREW  (no. 404) XXVth dynasty.

Chief Steward of the Divine Adoratresses, Amenirdis I and
Shepenupet II. Access to this tomb is provided through the
court of the tomb of Harwa (no. 37). The tomb consists of
a two-pillared rectangular hall which is linked at the rear
to the underground corridors of the tomb of Harwa. The plan
of the tomb is irregular, probably owing to the fact that it
was appended to the tomb of Harwa.¹²

The preceding examples serve to illustrate that the
renewed tomb building activity which produced the monumental
tombs of the Saite dynasty followed a hiatus of approximately
three hundred years. The only evidence for the evolution of
the tomb plan is found in the tomb of Karewbasaken (no. 391),
which shows the elimination of the broad hall, a common
feature in the XXVth dynasty (fig. 77).

Several small XXVth dynasty tombs have recently been
located and mapped by the Austrian expedition of 1969-1971,
under the direction of M. Bitak.¹³ These tombs are in the

Survey of Private Theban Tombs from the XXIst to the XXth Dynasties

eastern portion of the Assasif, in the area crossed by the causeways of Tutmosis III and Mentuhotep, northeast of the tomb of Sheshonq (no. 27) (fig. 78). These tombs remain anonymous, although a wooden sarcophagus found in tomb VII, belonging to an individual named Hry-rw  is believed by Bietak to have been for a Nubian or Sudanese wife of the owner.¹⁴ This coffin, when compared to other datable sarcophagi of the period, indicates that these tombs were constructed during the early XXVth dynasty.¹⁵

Tomb VI (fig. 79) is a well-preserved example from this series of tombs. The superstructure is rectangular (17.2 x 10.9m), oriented east/west, with the entrance at the east, as in the majority of Saite tombs. The central doorway of the pylon leads to a court (6.4 x 8.9m). At the rear of the structure are three contiguous chapels with the central chapel containing a shaft (1.8 x 1.7m). The shaft, which has not been cleared, presumably leads to a burial chamber. These tombs are greatly reduced in scale in comparison to the Saite tombs and most likely lack the complex subterranean rooms which characterize the Saite "Grabpalast" tombs. Their discovery does, however, provide evidence for the use of free-standing mudbrick superstructures during the early XXVth dynasty in the eastern Assasif.

Survey of Private Theban Tombs from the XXist to the
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Survey of Private Tombs Outside Thebes from the XXIst to the XXVIth dynasties

Private tombs constructed during the period of the XXst to the XXVIth dynasties in areas of Egypt outside of Thebes consist primarily of shaft tombs which are very different from the "Grabpalast" tradition of the Saite tombs. Shaft tombs are found at Saqqara¹, Heliopolis², and El Amrah and Abydos.³

Shaft tombs have been discovered at Saqqara, constructed within the Old Kingdom (Vth dynasty) mortuary temples of kings Unas and Userkaf. The tomb of Amuntemnakht, "Commander of the Recruits of the Royal Guard," may be taken as an example of this type of tomb.⁴ It is located within the temple of Unas, 30 meters east of the king's pyramid. A huge, rectangular shaft, 8 x 6 meters, and over 20 meters deep, leads to a small burial chamber. The burial was discovered intact, although contrary to custom, it contained no jewelry or amulets. Careful provision had been made for the security of the burial (fig. 80). J. -P. Lauer comments,

"Immediately after the burial had taken place and the lid of the limestone compartment containing the sarcophagus had been lowered into position by the usual device of letting the sand from the sockets containing its supports, the pottery seals blocking three cylindrical holes in the roof were broken and the sand filling the shaft allowed to flow into the chamber, covering the sarcophagus lid and blocking the entrance to the corridor of access as far as the small shaft to the E. Meanwhile the workmen made their way out through this smaller

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shaft, which was then also filled with sand. It was impossible to get into the burial chamber without first removing all the sand from the large shaft."⁵

Several tombs were constructed within the mortuary temple of Userkaf, and date to the early Saite period. Contrary to tradition, this temple was located on the south side of the king's pyramid at Saqqara, rather than on the east. A large shaft (10 meters on a side), sunk within the temple, led to twin burial chambers of Neferibresaneith and Wahibreten, located at a depth of 20 meters.⁶ These "chimney" tombs were also discovered intact, containing small items of jewelry accompanying the burial. A third XXVIth dynasty shaft tomb, belonging to Hor, was also located within the temple.⁷

Other Late Period shaft tombs have been found at Matriya, a village to the north of the modern town of Heliopolis.⁸ The tomb of Wehibre^f is the most completely preserved, consisting of a short shaft (2m) leading to a burial chamber (approximately 3.0 x 1.5m).⁹

The shaft tombs mentioned above offer little comparison to the Saite tombs at Thebes, other than the attention given to the security of the burial chamber in the tomb of Amuntemnakht. Different devices against robbers are found in the Saite tombs of Mentuemhet and Pedamenopet (see II, 1, p.29). Such precautions are not taken to

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protect the burial chambers of private tombs during the New Kingdom at Thebes, although false pits and false chambers are employed in royal tombs.¹⁰

The XXIst dynasty tomb of Pasebakhánu at El Amrah does incorporate a unique element later seen at Thebes - a blind niche in the second pylon of the superstructure.¹¹ This feature and the overall tomb plan of Pasebakhánu are discussed in Chapter 2(E), pages 70-71 of this paper.

XXVIth dynasty tombs in several locations share other characteristics with the Saite tombs at Thebes. The expansion of trade during the Assyrian invasion of Egypt (671-658 B.C.) brought increasing prosperity to the oases of the western desert.¹² The successive Saite rulers sought to consolidate their interests and control, especially in the oasis of Siwa, with a program of temple building for local officials.

The tomb of Niperpathot at Gebel el-Mawtā, one and a half kilometers from Siwa, is one of the best preserved examples from the XXVIth dynasty cemetery.¹³ A. Fakhry reports that the owner of the tomb served as "Prophet of Osiris, Scribe of the Divine Documents, and 'Wa'b' Priest."¹⁴ The tomb consists of a forecourt (5 x 2.5m) with side rooms, a second court (4.3 x 5m) with side chapels, and a small burial chamber (1.8 x 1.5m) in the axis of the tomb

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(fig. 81). The tomb is quite small in comparison to the Theban Saite tombs, but the double open court with side chapels is similar to the configuration found in the tomb of Mentuemhet.

The XXVth dynasty tomb of Bakenrenef at Saqqara shares some characteristics with the contemporaneous Theban Saite tombs. Recent excavations by the University of Pisa (1974-1977), headed by E. Bresciani, have recleared this important tomb. It is located in the eastward facing cliffs near the present entrance to the Saqqara necropolis, 300 meters north of the Valley Temple of Unas.

Bakenrenef was a vizier of King Pasamtik I (664-610 B.C.). The tomb was recorded by Lepsius,¹⁵ but its position remained undetermined until recent years. The overall size of the tomb is 44 x 16 meters, approximately the same dimensions as those of the Saite tomb of Basa at Thebes (fig. 82).¹⁶ The tomb is fronted by a brick pylon which is only partially visible beneath the foundations of a modern asphalt road. A square forecourt (9.7 x 9.2m) abuts on the cliffs which form the façade of the tomb proper. Hall I is rectangular (4.8 x 6.2m), lateral to the main axis of the tomb, and has eight small pillars. This room may be compared to the "broad hall" of the New Kingdom and Saite tombs at Thebes. Square niches, 0.75m broad, are cut

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into the north and south walls at intervals spaced between the pillars, and on either side of the doorway to room III. Similar niches containing mummiform statues of the deceased are found in the Middle Kingdom tomb of Sirenput II at Aswan¹⁷, but there is no evidence of architectural statuary in this tomb. Two chapels open from the west end of the north and south walls, each containing a shaft.

Room III is rectangular (2.6 x 6.7m) and placed transversely to the main axis of the tomb. The principal shaft of the tomb descends from the floor of the southern half of this room. Square niches in the form of a shrine with cavetto cornice and torus molding (.70m broad) are located in the north, south and west walls. Room IV (4.3 x 3.3m) has two lateral chapels a central statue niche enclosed within the recesses of a false-door. Lepsius mentions a seated statue, but no evidence of it was found during the recent excavation.¹⁸ The main shaft descends from Room III and leads to an antechamber and burial chamber extending to the west.

Following the initial construction of the tomb during the Saite period, two chapels were erected in the eastern end of Hall II. After the XXXth dynasty, an ambulatory was cut, originating from the side chapels of Hall II and encircling Rooms III and IV. This ambulatory appears to

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have been constructed to accommodate secondary burials (fig. 83).

The most striking similarities between the tomb of Bakenrenef and the Theban Saite tombs are the entrance pylon, enclosed courtyard, rectangular deep hall with eight pillars, and the main axial chapel with false-door and statue niche. These elements are not commonly found in the tombs of Lower Egypt, but they do appear in the Theban tombs of the New Kingdom. A secondary element, the lateral niches of Hall II are common in Late Period tombs of Thebes, as are the niches with architectural framework of Room II in the tomb of Bakenrenef. The tomb also has the same orientation as the Saite tombs - a main east/west axis, with the entrance pylon facing east. The main differences between this XXVIth dynasty tomb at Saqqara and the Theban Saite tombs are its lack of change in axis between the lobby and successive rooms and absence of a sunken court.

In conclusion, the XXIst - XXVIth dynasty tombs outside of Thebes consist primarily of shaft tombs which present little evidence for the evolution of the Egyptian tomb plan during this period. The only architectural characteristics shared with Theban Saite tombs are attention to the security of the burial chamber and the

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one example of a blind niche in the superstructure from the tomb of Pasebakhánu. Two tombs from widely separated areas of Egypt exhibit some similarities to the Theban Saite tombs. The tomb of Niperpathot (Siwa) has a double open court with side chapels. The tomb of Bakenrenef incorporates the entrance pylon, enclosed forecourt, deep hall with pillars, and niches within an architectural framework. Noticeably present, however, is the broad hall, the main element eliminated in the evolution of the tomb plan during the XXIst-XXVth dynasties at Thebes. Unfortunately, the destruction of the interior of the tomb of Bakenrenef allows limited reconstruction of its thematic cycles. Adjacent tombs at Saqqara are undergoing clearance and may be found to date to the same period and provide additional information for both architectural and thematic comparisons.

Tombs Outside Thebes from the XXIst to the XXVith
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Architectural Statuary

Statuary appears in several contexts in Saite tombs at Thebes. Examples include statues fronting the façade (Sheshonq), statue niches of the king and Divine Adoratrix (Ibi), the deceased and family (Mentuemhet), or various divinities (Pedamenopet, Mentuemhet, Basa, Pedihorresnet).

The division between cult statuary and architectural statuary is a difficult and perhaps unnecessary distinction to draw. But in order to discuss statuary within the context of the architectural design, several of the types of statuary found in the Saite tombs will be discussed in this chapter. The remainder will be considered in connection with the thematic cycles depicted in the tombs (Part III).

As A. Badawy remarks, "only the visible statuary that forms part of the original design can be considered architectural."¹ This definition is intended to exclude the numerous stelae, free-standing statuary, and articles representing votive offerings which were placed in Egyptian tombs of all periods after their dedication. Several examples of such objects are known from the Saite tombs.²

During the Middle Kingdom, the architectural use of statuary in tombs exhibits a "progressive tendency toward exteriorization."³ The statue of the deceased is no longer concealed as in the serdab of Old Kingdom tombs,

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instead statues are placed in the public areas of the tomb - in forecourts and against the façade to allow the tomb owner to symbolically greet visitors and receive offerings. The XIIth dynasty tomb of Prince Wahka I at Qaw represents an intermediate stage of this process, as the statue is placed in a portico of the court, although it is somewhat hidden beneath a stairway.⁴ During the Ramesside period, statues are set in niches in the forecourt, as first seen in the tomb of Paser (no. 106) at Thebes, where nine standing Osiride statues of the deceased are sculpted in the façade.⁵

The Saite tomb of Sheshonq reflects this trend of exteriorization and appears also to have been influenced by the placement of statuary in temple architecture. Two brick statue bases (1.2 x 1.3m.) were discovered by Donadoni, in situ 1.9 meters in front of the entrance doorway of Pylon I.⁶ He remarks,

"L'aspect monumental de cette facade était peut être rehaussé par la présence de deux statues, qui n'est témoignée aujourd'hui que par deux bases en briques crues aux côtés de l'entrée à 2m env. de la façade."⁷

The placement of the two statues before the pylon echoes the composition of the New Kingdom temple gateway, flanked by two or more colossi representing Pharaoh seated or standing, set against the façade and facing the approach.

There is a second trend in the evolution of Egyptian

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tomb statuary which J. Assmann, in his study of the Saite tomb of Basa, designates as "sakralisierung" (sacralization).⁸ During the late New Kingdom there was a growing tendency toward the representation of religious subject matter rather than worldly topics in the wall scenes, texts and statuary of private tombs. This change is first seen at Deir el-Medina, where innovative tombs of the royal artists and workmen display a preference for elements from royal tombs.⁹ During the XIXth dynasty the main cult statue for the deceased and family was sometimes replaced by a statue of a deity, usually Osiris. The tomb of Tjoy (no. 23), which dates to the reign of Merneptah, is the first to show this transition.¹⁰ A niche in the rear wall of the chapel contains a group statue of Osiris flanked by a goddess and a hawk-headed god.¹¹ The Saite tombs of Mentuemhet, Pedihorresnet and Harwa (no. 37) have cult statues of Osiris located in the shrine and will be discussed on pages 229-230, and 235.

As a result of this change, and also the previously mentioned trend towards "exteriorization," architectural statuary depicting the tomb owner is displaced to other parts of the tomb. In the tomb of Mentuemhet two deep (1.5m.) statue niches are cut in the east wall of the sunken court, north and south of the doorway from the

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vestibule (fig. 84). Seated statues of the deceased and his wife, Uzarenes, are cut from the bedrock in the northern niche (fig. 85) and Mentuemhet and his mother, Ēsenkhebi, at the south (fig. 86). The statues are seated within a niche formed as a shrine with torus molding and cornice. The area above the niche is treated as a lattice-work doorway transom, an element reproduced in stone relief or painted above actual doorways from the Old Kingdom onwards. The subterranean chambers of the step pyramid of Neterikhet Djeser reproduce this motif in inlaid faience tile (fig. 87).¹² In this example from Saqqara, the arch is supported by djed pillars, symbolizing "stability."

At Thebes, a painted doorway from the XVIIIth dynasty tomb of Puyemre' (no. 39) displays a more complex treatment of this element (fig. 88).¹³ The transom has been divided into two registers, with compartments separated by small doorways and friezes of uraii. Djed pillars and papyri bound in pairs are the central elements. A false-door from the Horus Chapel of the temple of Seti I at Abydos, shows the same udjat eyes above a transom divided into two registers, with djed pillars as the central element, along with the king as sphinx or presenting offerings (fig. 89).¹⁴

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In the tomb of Mentuemhet both transoms are identical, each with paired central motifs. In the angles above the arched frame there could have been udjat eyes, as in the New Kingdom examples. Although the symbolic elements of Mentuemhet reproduce the djed pillar used in the other transoms, they also show the tyet symbol of Hathor (and connected with Isis),¹⁵ the Hathor hieroglyph, and in the upper eroded area, two pairs of elements each resembling two bound papyri. These twined plant stems are heraldic symbols for the unification of the East and West Delta and appear in the transom of Puyemre'. However, the stalks of the transom of Mentuemhet do not carry the papyrus blossom but spiral downward, as do the two appendices of the bat insignia (fig. 90).¹⁶ It is impossible to verify this interpretation of the motif due to the eroded condition of the niches of Mentuemhet. The bat insignia, also associated with Hathor, was included in depictions of Pabasa, and could have been incorporated into the design of these Saite transoms.

The seated figures of Mentuemhet and his wife and the tomb owner and his mother are within the square aperture of the niche, wearing close-fitting, ankle-length garments inscribed vertically. Mentuemhet's left arm appears to be wrapped in his robe, as in his Berlin statuette

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(no. 17271);¹⁷ the right hand may have held a flail or another emblem. In both examples, the woman is seated at some distance on the left of Mentuemhet, with her right arm around him, a gesture of affection known from the Old Kingdom (Menkaure' groups)¹⁸ and later seen in Theban New Kingdom tomb statuary.¹⁹ There is a strong contrast between the verticality of the two thin figures and the horizontality of the bench, as long as the niche itself.

Indications of the ritual purpose of the two niches are provided by the scenes carved in sunk relief on the sides of the statue niches. They depict the presentation of offerings by ka priests and the offering of a blossom by Mentuemhet's daughter. The nearly life-size dimensions of the sculpted figures contribute to render them as realistic recipients of the offering ceremonies performed in the court. The purpose of the offering rites is further enhanced by the murals behind the figures, representing offerings - blossoms, loaves, various fruits and vegetables, shown in horizontal registers (fig. 91). The broken inscription surrounding both niches contains titles of Mentuemhet.

The statue niches in the tomb of Mentuemhet are an important element in the architectural design of the sunken court. They effectively balance the raised portico with

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four tapered papyrus columns which runs along the opposite west end of the court (fig. 92).

Massive papyri, bound in pairs, are carved in high relief between the apertures to the chapels on the the north and south walls of the court of Mentuemhet, and may also be considered within the context of architectural statuary (figs. 84 and 93). This heraldic motif serves to unify the architectural design of the court, where each lateral wall is punctuated by the five doorways of the side chapels. The plant forms were originally brightly painted (fig. 94) - yellow basal leaves and binding, blue stalks and blossom, with red calyx. The same color scheme is repeated in the scenes in sunk relief carved on doorjambs and lintels throughout the court. These pairs of bound papyri - a motif which goes back to the use of the heraldic plant of the North during the 1st dynasty - have been cited by scholars as evidence for the archaizing tendencies of the Saite tomb builders.²⁰ Bound papyri were frequently incorporated in to the multi-niched "palace-façade," reproduced on coffins, stelae, and exterior façades of tombs (1st-IIIrd dynasties). The monumental version of this motif seen in the tomb of Mentuemhet is unique in Theban tomb architecture, but it appeared as a minor element during the Middle and New Kingdoms. For example, a fragment from

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the IXth dynasty tomb of Dagi (no. 103) shows bound papyri.²¹ The motif is repeated, as mentioned above, in the painted transom above a doorway in the XVIIIth dynasty tomb of Puyemre' (fig. 88). It has been remarked by W.S. Smith that the papyri are carved "in a fashion which gives us a first taste of the wonderful sculptural treatment of plant forms which was to be best exemplified in late architecture by the composite capitals."²²

The remaining examples of Saite statuary appear in rooms which, with reference to the definition of architectural statuary, may be considered "visible." The lobby, antechamber and also the sunken court were accessible to subsequent visitors - priest, family members or passers-by. Statues from the tomb of Ibi which were placed in these rooms, have now been removed, thus allowing little more than a mention of location and presumed subject matter. A statue niche bearing the titles of Psamtik I, Nitocris and Shepenupet II, on the west wall, facing the doorway from the vestibule.²⁴ Both statue niches open opposite doorways, at the butt end of their axes, in a design reminiscent of the niche marking the end of the axis of one stretch of the corridor in the tomb of Ramesses III (fig. 95).²⁵ a third statue niche with cartouches of Nitocris and Shepenupet occupies the southern end of the west wall of the sunken court.²⁶

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The tomb of Ibi appears to be the only Saite tomb which contained statues of the king and Divine Adoratresses. Ibi perhaps sought to pay particular homage to them, as he was appointed as the High Steward of Nitocris in 639 B.C.²⁷ As K. Kuhlmann and W. Schenkel, who studied several aspects of this tomb have pointed out, changes in inscriptions in the tomb indicate that it was begun prior to his appointment as High Steward.²⁸ The tomb was expanded in the following years, the vestibule was enlarged, allowing the inclusion of the second statue niche, bearing the titles of Psamtik I, Nitocris and Shepenupet II.

Statuary from the vestibule of the tomb of Basa may be considered architectural, yet through discussion of its function is difficult outside of the framework of the complex thematic composition of the room. The vestibule is divided both spatially and thematically into three parts, two of which contain statuary (fig. 96). As in the tomb of Ibi, the statue niches mark the main axes of the room. The central section of the west wall is dominated by a sculptural representation of Hathor, shown as a cow emerging from a mountain (fig. 97). She functions in this personification as the "Lady of the Necropolis," who received the dead when they entered the Underworld, giving them new life.²⁹ The oldest version of the "Book of the Divine Cow," which

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includes instruction for her depiction, was inscribed on Shrine I from the tomb of Tutankhamun.³⁰ However, elements from the text are known from the Pyramid texts (388, 389, 729, 1370, 1566, 2113)³¹ and Coffin Texts (79).³² The Hathor cow is framed by the low-relief representation of a seh-type shrine consisting of four Hathoric columns supporting a flat vault made of plant stems. The shrine is depicted in elevation and placed within a rectangular frame with inscriptions at the borders. Beneath the vault is the elevation of a second shrine topped with torus and cornice. The statue of the Hathor cow is located within a proportionally smaller statue niche bordered by two rows of inscription. Seh-type shrines are also found in the burial chambers of Saite tombs of Mentuemhet (upheld by fluted columns)³³ and Harwa (with tent pole columns).³⁴ The overall effect of this complex configuration is the creation of a spatial perspective in which the central shrine appears to recede into the background, below an Hathoric tentlike structure.

Sculptural representations of Hathor as a cow emerging from the mountain are known from several private Theban tombs constructed during the reign of Ramesses II. Statues are located either in the forecourt (tombs 263, 387)³⁵ or the shrine (2, 4, 212, 298).³⁶ These statues are free-

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standing or placed in plain niches, rather than the elaborate shrine seen in the vestibule of Basa. They are reminiscent of the Hathor shrine in Hatshepsut's mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri.³⁷

Assmann remarks that the deliberate and strongly symmetrical disposition of the vestibule is note to be overlooked and that particular care was given by the Saite architects to its plan and execution in order to give the visitor a strong impression.³⁸ The position of the niche opposite the entrance doorway, together with the imposing treatment of the shrine, a flat projection of an Hathoric temple, emphasizes the presence of the goddess in the tomb. Assmann views this aim as a continuation of the New Kingdom move towards "sacralization," a desire to represent the deceased as entering the realm of the gods ruling the Egyptian hereafter.³⁹

Also found in the vestibule of Basa, in a segment of the room dedicated to the festival cult of the deceased, are Osiride statues of Basa located in opposed niches in the east and west walls of the northern end of the room (fig. 96).⁴⁰ Basa benefits from spiritualization texts inscribed on the bases of the statues, rather than hymns to Osiris.⁴¹ The texts appear in connection with scenes on the north wall, depicting the "Festival of the Valley," the festival cult

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of the dead which was first performed in the XIth dynasty.⁴² Osiride statues of the deceased are not found in other Saite tombs, but as mentioned earlier in this chapter, they are found in Ramesside tombs, either in the forecourt (41, 106, 183) or broad hall (136, 157). They also appear in a corridor of the Middle Kingdom tomb of Sirenput II at Aswan.⁴³ The use of statuary in the tomb of Basa serves to enhance the spatial and thematic tripartite division of the vestibule.

The use of statuary is very diversified throughout the Saite tomb, with examples of the types discussed above appearing in only one tomb. The move towards "exteriorization" of statuary is continued during the Late Period, with paired statues fronting the façade and others located in the lobby, vestibule and sunken court. The types of statuary rely heavily upon precedents from earlier periods, especially Osiride statues and depictions of the deceased and family, yet, they are effectively adapted to the new layout of the Saite tomb. The inclusion of statues of the king and Divine Adoratresses in the tomb of Ibi was perhaps a reflection of his appointment to the office of High Steward during the reign of Nitocris.

The statuary serves to enhance the monumentality of the tomb superstructure (Sheshonq), balance the layout of

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architectural elements (Mentuemhet and family in court), and unify the plan (papyri of Mentuemhet). Statues of the king and Divine Adoratresses in the tomb of Ibi were placed opposite the entrance to lobby and vestibule, forming vistas for the visitor. The same visual effect was sought in the tomb of Basa for a different purpose - to emphasize the presence of the goddess Hathor in the tomb.

There is little evidence for a discussion of the artistic merit of these works - many are missing or largely destroyed. The massive papyri from the court of Mentuemhet anticipate the plastic Greco-Roman usage of plant forms, as later seen in the composite floral columns of the temple at Philae.⁴⁴ The architectural frame of niches (Basa) was to be adopted in the Greco-Roman funerary stela.⁴⁵

Architectural statuary is closely tied to the funerary ritual of the deceased in the Saite tombs, as evidenced by statues of Mentuemhet serving as recipients for funerary offerings, Osiride representations of Basa for spiritualization rites connected with the festival cult of the dead, and the cow of Hathor which welcomes the deceased (Basa) into the Netherworld. Cult statuary concealed in rooms I-IV and burial apartments of the Saite tombs have similar functions - contributing to the welfare of the tomb owner in his afterlife and will be discussed in the final chapters

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of this paper.

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Conclusion - Architecture Section

The most impressive aspect of the Saite tombs, at first glance, is their overall monumentality, far different from any private tomb of preceding periods. The façade in the shape of a pylon and extensive enclosure walls, are, of course, reminiscent of elements from the mortuary temple, or the XIIth dynasty tombs of the nomarchs at Qaw, and some Ramesside tombs at Thebes, but here the similarity comes to an end. Several of the Saite tombs have east and north pylons, the first leading to the superstructure chapel, the second providing access to the substructure. These dual entrances, set at right angles, combined with the large sunken court, opening toward the middle of the substructure, lend to the external aspect of the tomb a character of its own.

This originality in the design of the superstructure is echoed in the layout of the subterranean rooms - lobby and vestibule preceding the sunken court, cult rooms and burial chambers. The huge scale that governs the external layout is also present in the subterranean arrangement, especially in the earlier Saite tombs, and may be viewed as an expression of the wealth and power of these officials which was second only to that of the Divine Adoratrices, who ruled at Thebes during the XXVth and XXVIth dynasties.

Conclusion - Architecture Section

The Kushite rulers are frequently credited with the introduction of the so-called "archaic revival" characterizing the temple renewal and building projects of the XXVth dynasty, which continued during the Saite period.¹ It is known, for example, that Taharqa used workmen from Memphis in the construction of the Temple of Kawa, and copied scenes from Old Kingdom royal funerary monuments - the temples of Sahure', Neuserre', and Pepy II.² Archaizing tendencies are most apparent in elements which will be discussed later in this paper in connection with the thematic repertoire, but they do appear in two aspects of the architecture: the recessed panelling of the superstructure and the side chapels of the sunken court. The panelling of the superstructure is an element which must have made a strong visual impact in the original appearance of the Saite tombs. Although two examples of panelling do appear at Thebes during the New Kingdom (retaining wall of Hatshepsut, tomb of Amenuser), Saite architects incorporated the ornate brickwork of "palace-façade" panelling, an element which had long been associated with archaic royal monuments. The choice of this motif could be interpreted as the desire by these local Saite officials to be equated with the powerful kings of preceding eras. The side chapels of the sunken court are a less obvious element, related to Old and Middle Kingdom funerary customs. The tomb of

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Mentuemhet, with its contemporaneous chapels of 'Akiu and Irhepiaut, may represent a return to the tradition of burial of retainers in the vicinity of the highest official of the period. Such a move would reflect Mentuemhet's vigorous role as governor of Upper Egypt during a long period of political turmoil.

It seems, however, that the Saite architects drew their strongest inspiration from the "two great past ages of Thebes" - echoed in their choice of sites, the Assasif, directly below the imposing temples of Mentuhotep II (XIth dynasty) and Hatshepsut (XVIIIth dynasty). As W.S. Smith points out, "There has been a tendency to overstress the copying of forms of the Pyramid Age in Saite times, although it has long been noted that artists drew upon Middle and New Kingdoms as well."³

Many of the basic architectural components of the Saite tomb clearly represent a continuation of Middle and New Kingdom tradition. The precedents for the Saite pylon may be traced to tombs at Deir el-Medina and Ramesside tombs nos. 282 and 283 at Dra Abu el-Naga. New Kingdom funerary chapels such as the one belonging to Amenhotep, son of Hapu (XVIIIth dynasty), are independent structures with pylons and freestanding enclosure walls. The composite arch of the pylon of the Saite tomb is seen in other contexts during

Conclusion - Architecture Section

the New Kingdom - the arched entrance of the Osireion of Seti I at Abydos and in the roofing of magazines (the Ramesseum). It is likely that the Saite arch was masked with brick or stone and served as a hidden structural device. The placement of inscribed funerary cones in the tomb façade is a continuation of Middle and New Kingdom architectural tradition. The Saite tombs also share the same orientation with royal and private mortuary temples and tombs from the New Kingdom. All are facing roughly east - towards the Temple of Amun at Karnak, a major religious center, and towards the rising sun, the sacred place of appearance of the Egyptian solar god, Re'.

Although most of the components of the tomb derive from tradition, others are clearly new inventions. The dual approaches of the superstructure and substructure are the most striking deviation from tomb architecture of preceding periods. This characteristic appears to derive from the combination of features from the New Kingdom mortuary temple (superstructure) and from domestic architecture (substructure). Other aspects adapted from domestic architecture include the tripartite division of the plan, lateral approach, and 90° change in axis. The sunken court of the tomb and the central hall of the house share common elements, false-doors, side aisles, and a similar light source, and both function as

Conclusion - Architecture Section

a place of offering. The blind niche in the axis of the superstructure is a new element which appears in only one other example, the XXIst dynasty tomb of Pasebakhanu at El Amrah. This niche probably served as the focal point for offerings to the gods performed in the forecourt of the superstructure. The sunken court, deeply recessed and preceded by a lobby and vestibule, is a new invention by the Saïtes.

The new features listed above combine with the continued traditions of the Middle and New Kingdoms to create a series of tombs which reflect the wealth and independence of powerful local officials - the last of a period running more than a millenium, to leave their monuments at Thebes. The architecture of the Saïte tombs represents a syncretism of both style and elements, drawn from domestic, religious and funerary models, royal and private, yet it may be said that the Saïte architects achieved both originality and virtuosity. The careful attention to detail and the significance of the architectural layout becomes apparent in the discussion of the use of architectural statuary in the Saïte tomb (II, 7) and will be more evident in the following chapters - the examination of the placement and contents of the thematic repertoire of the tombs.

Conclusion - Architecture Section - Notes

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Part III. Thematic Repertoire - Wall Scenes and Inscriptions

The description of scenes and texts from the Saite tombs cannot be undertaken without reference to their placement within the three-dimensional context of the architecture and the conceptual unity of the overall program. The exact location of scenes is important along with their relation to the points of the compass, since scenes and texts often include symbolic connotations which are related to the actual astronomical orientation. In an example from the tomb of Mutirdis, the deceased is depicted on the first pylon, facing east with arms upraised in adoration. The scene is accompanied by a hymn to the sun god. An example of the importance of location in relation to the overall plan is found in the tomb of Sheshonq. He is shown on both walls of the entrance stairway, striding forward as if leaving the tomb - a convention known from the Old Kingdom. Autobiographical texts adjoin the scene - also connecting him with the world of the living.

The thematic repertoire depicted in the Saite tomb may be divided into three major topics: "Going Forth," "Transition," and the "Netherworld." Many scenes and texts from the superstructure, stairway, vestibule and sunken court are related to the concept of the deceased "Going Forth" into the world of the living. This theme is also associated with day, and the East, the place of "rebirth"

according to the solar destiny. Examples of this theme are texts addressed to visitors to the tomb (the Appeal to the Living), large-scale representations of the deceased functioning in an official capacity (wearing robes and insignia of office), references to the "Going Forth by Day," worship or hymns to the sun god, and scenes representing daily life.

The second major theme, "Transition," is also depicted in the stairway, vestibule and sunken court of the Saite tomb and represents the passage of the deceased into the Netherworld. This involves both the reception and preparation of the tomb owner for the hereafter. Examples of this theme include the welcoming of the deceased by various deities (Hathor cow, tomb of Basa), texts and representations associated with the funeral, spiritualization texts, or the passage through the gates of the Underworld (Book of the Dead 145, 146).

A third theme, "The Netherworld," appears primarily in the cult and burial chambers. The representation of this theme includes the texts of the Underworld such as the "Books of Caverns, Aker, and Imi-Duat," ritual texts (the Book of the Opening of the Mouth), and scenes, such as, "The Weighing of the Heart" and the "Resurrection of Osiris."

The following chapters contain a discussion of the

thematic repertoire depicted in the Saite tombs, and are organized by location. The chart on the following page indicates the distribution of evidence for this study.

SUPERSTRUCTURE

Pylon I

Pylon II

SUBSTRUCTURE

Stairway

Lobby

Vestibule

Sunken Court

Side Chapels

Portal Alcove

Hall I

Hall II

Other Cult Rooms

Burial Chambers

Pedamenopet	Mentuemhet	Mutirdis	Basa	Ibi	
		+			
		+			
		+			
				+	
			+	+	
+	+	+	+	+	
	+				
+			+		
+		+	+	+	
+		+			
+	+	+			
+	+	+		+	

Pedamenopet

Mentuemhet

Mutirdis

Basa

Ibi

Pabasa

Pedihorresnet

Sheshonq

		+					
		+					
		+				+	+
				+			
			+	+	+		+
+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
	+						
+			+				
+		+	+	+	+		
+		+					
+	+	+			+		
+	+	+		+			

Superstructure

The tomb of Mutirdis is the only Saite tomb in which scenes and texts from the superstructure are partially preserved. As noted in preceding pages, scenes and texts from this portion of the tomb are related to the deceased's "Going Forth" into the world of the living.

Two blocks from Pylon I allow a reconstruction of a scene carved in sunk relief depicting Mutirdis with hands upraised, wearing a long straight wig and wide garment (fig. 98).¹ The accompanying text is from the Book of the Dead (Chapter 15a-b), a hymn to the morning sun god.² Mutirdis expresses her joy at greeting the morning sun and describes his journey. Assmann notes that the reconstruction is based upon a similar text from the tomb of Pedamenopet, but doesn't provide its location.³

A second scene and text, also in sunk relief, appears on the southeast jamb and thickness of Pylon II.⁴ Mutirdis is seated before an offering table, on a chair with a papyrus finial (figs. 99 and 100). She wears a close-fitting garment, necklace, armbands, bracelets and anklets. A monkey is seated beneath her, grasping the leg of the chair. Pet monkeys are frequently depicted in New Kingdom private Theban tombs,⁵ the first example appearing in the early XVIIIth dynasty tomb of Ken (no. 59).⁶ A similar detail is shown in a depiction of Sheshonq in the lobby of his

Superstructure

tomb.⁷ The items on the offering table are very symmetrical, consisting of two geese, loaves, and a basket containing grapes (?). This conventional scene appears in Egyptian tombs of all periods. The details are finely carved, although partially obscured by a coat of rough plaster, which was most likely a later addition. The text, an "Appeal to the Living,"⁸ consists of seven columns of inscription which begin on the thickness of the doorway and continue on the jamb above the deceased.⁹ Mutirdis requests "those living upon earth" to recite funerary offerings for her ka and to invoke the gods, and their mothers and fathers, at every feast of the Heavens (H3b nb n pt)¹⁰ and of the West (H3b nb n fmntt).¹¹ The text of the Appeal to the Living is a shortened version of an unpublished parallel inscription, which appears on the south wall of the court in the tomb of Pabasa.¹² A third example is located on the left wall of the entrance stairway of Sheshonq and will be discussed in the following chapter. "Appeals to the Living" were inscribed on tomb stelae, façades, or interior walls from the IVth dynasty onward. The first example appears on a stela of Kaḥersetef from Saqqara, dating to the mid-IVth dynasty.¹³ The Appeal to the Living was inscribed in six XVIIIth dynasty tombs (nos. 11, 24, 39, 57, 84, and 104),¹⁴ most often on the end walls

Superstructure

of the broad hall. The text was also inscribed on stelae which were placed in Theban tombs during the Middle Kingdom (XIth dynasty tomb of Meru- no. 240)¹⁵ and XVIIIth dynasty (tomb of Antef - no. 155).¹⁶ The Appeal to the Living was not used in tombs dating to the Ramesside period, possibly a result of the gradual shift from depictions of everyday life to purely religious subject matter. This change was completed during the reign of Ramesses II and is credited to a slow modification of religious outlook.¹⁷

These two scenes and texts provide some evidence for the reconstruction of the thematic cycle presented by the superstructure of the Saite tomb. It is likely that only the pylon gateways, faced with limestone as in the examples from the tomb of Mutirdis, showed scenes and texts. The theme of the deceased "going forth" into the world of the living is a continuation of a tradition first seen in the Old Kingdom, where large-scale depictions of the deceased with his staff leaving the tomb appear on the tomb facade or thickness of the entrance doorway (Mereruka, Kagemni at Saqqara).¹⁸ During the New Kingdom similar representations were found near the tomb entrance, on doorways or in the broad hall. The texts from the Saite superstructure are found on the entrance doorways or broad halls of XVIIIth dynasty tombs. The details of the scenes - the monkey

Superstructure

seated beneath Mutirdis' chair, her clothing and jewelry, are also closely tied to early New Kingdom tradition. The close-fitting garment which she wears (fig. 2) is of a type which remained unchanged from the IVth to the XVIIIth dynasty (fig. 101).¹⁹

Superstructure - Notes

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pp. 20-22, pl. 4(1 and 2), fig. 5. (scene 1)
2. Ibid., pp. 20-22 (text 1).
3. Ibid., p. 22.
4. Ibid., pp. 24-25, pl. 7 (scene 2);
pp. 23-24, pl. 6A (text 6).
5. Porter and Moss, Bibliography, I, 1, 2nd ed., p. 468.
6. Abdul-Qader, M., The Development of the Funerary Beliefs
and Practices Displayed in the Private Tombs of the New
Kingdom at Thebes, (Cairo, 1966), p. 133-134.
7. Donadoni, S., "Relazione Preliminare sull II campagna
de scavo nella tomba de Sešonq all Asasif," Oriens
Antiquus XII (1972), pl. VI.
8. Sainte Fare Garnot, J., L'Appel aux Vivants, (Cairo,
1938).

Sottas, La Preservation de la propriété funéraire dans
l'Ancienne Egypte, (Paris, 1913), p. 64ff.
9. Assmann J., op. cit., pp. 23-24.
10. Helck, W. and E. Otto, Lexikon der Ägyptologie, II (2),
cols. 172-173.
11. Ibid., cols. 180-182.
12. Porter and Moss, op. cit., p. 358.
Assmann, op. cit., p. 24.
13. Sainte Fare Garnot, op. cit., p. 2.
14. Porter and Moss, op. cit., tomb 11, p. 72(8 and 12);
tomb 24, p. 42(9); tomb 39, p. 72(7); tomb 57, p. 117
(16); tomb 84, p. 168 (4 and 8); tomb 104, p. 218 (3).
15. Ibid., tomb 240, p. 331(finds).

Vandier, J. Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne, (Paris,
1952-1969), II, p. 478, fig. 294(rt).

Superstructure - Notes

16. Porter and Moss, op. cit., tomb 155, p. 265 (finds).
Save-Soderbergh, T., Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs,
(Oxford, 1957), p. 13.
17. Abdul-Qader, M., op. cit., p. 263.
18. Duell, R., The Mastaba of Mereruka, (Chicago, 1938),
I, pl. 4; II, pl. 212.
19. Stahelin, E., Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im
Alten Reich, (Berlin, 1966), pp. 166-170, pl. 3A.

Entrance Stairway

The first example of the thematic repertoire from the entrance stairway of the Saite tomb is found in the tomb of Mutirdis. The stairway from the tomb of Mentuemhet possibly contains scenes and texts, but has not been cleared. The tomb of Mutirdis lacks the lobby and vestibule of the typical Saite plan where there is a change of axis. In this example the landing of the stairway serves the same purpose - forming an architectonic transition between the super- and substructure.

The landing depicts scenes and texts which are found in the vestibules of other Theban Saite tombs - biographical representations, spiritualization texts, and a hymn to Re-Horakhty. The repertoire of the stairway presents an overlapping of the themes of the deceased "Going Forth" into the world of the living and of "Transition" into the Underworld.

Texts for the "spiritualization" of the deceased were located on both jambs of the doorway marking the entrance to the stairway.¹ The texts have been restored from eleven fragments and by means of comparison with parallel texts from the tombs of Pabasa (jambs of doorway to vestibule)² and Basa (jamb of doorway in portal alcove of sunken court).³ Assmann surmised that the inscription was taken directly from the text of Pabasa.⁴ The text is based upon elements from the Book of the Dead (Chapters 145, 146) and describes

Stairway

the entrance of Mutirdis into the Netherworld and passage through seven of its gates.

The lateral walls of the stairway contain text and vignettes from Chapter 145 of the Book of the Dead.⁵ This chapter, often incorrectly referred to as the "Book of Gates," describes the journey of the deceased through twenty-one portals (sbht) of the underworld, each guarded by a doorkeeper (iry-3).⁶ For the sake of symmetry, the text in the tomb of Mutirdis was shortened to twenty gates: 1-5, 7-11 on the south wall and 12-16, 17-21 on the north wall, omitting gate number 6. Mutirdis is shown at the beginning of each scene, turning toward the guardians in a gesture of worship (fig. 102). Each doorkeeper carries a knife(?) and stands behind a portal topped with a kheker frieze. The underlying idea of these vignettes is the entrance into the beyond. This purpose is in contrast to another depiction of the guardians found in the lower register of the south wall in the court of Mutirdis.⁷ In this second example, the positions of the deceased and the guardians are reversed - the guardians go westward, toward the interior of the tomb. In the court Mutirdis no longer asks for admission, but rather appeals to the guardians for protection.⁸ This change in position provides a significant indication of the intended religious symbolism of the

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stairway - a gateway marking the division between the upper and the Netherworld.

The first representation of Chapters 145 and 146 of the Book of the Dead in a private tomb is found in the second tomb of Sen(en)mut, the chief steward and architect of Hatshepsut. Sen(en)mut built a more elaborate tomb (no. 71), but most likely intended to be buried in tomb 353.¹⁰ This text is frequently represented in XIXth dynasty tombs,¹¹ usually in the shrine or burial chamber, but also in the vestibule (tomb 13)¹² or broad hall (16, 23, 25, 26, 30).¹³

The south wall of the stairway landing in the tomb of Mutirdis contains a depiction of the deceased and is accompanied by a text in two parts (figs. 103).¹⁴ Mutirdis is shown with arms upraised, the left hand extended, the right holding a sistrum. She wears an ankle-length, loose-fitting transparent garment similar to the one which appears in the scene on Pylon I. The finely carved sistrum is painted ochre, with the hair of Hathor detailed in blue. This depiction of Mutirdis probably represents an attempt at portraiture. Her features are personalized, showing a straight nose, deep crease at the corner of the mouth, and a protruding lip. The only other extant large-scale figure of Mutirdis (Pylon II, scene 2) is very eroded, but

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does reveal the same fleshy chin and throat. The fingers of her hands are long and slender, a treatment known from other Saite reliefs.¹⁵ This may be considered as a biographical representation - Mutirdis is shown in her official capacity as "songstress of Amun."¹⁶ Biographical representations of other Saite officials appear in the vestibules or sunken courts of their tombs.¹⁷

The text which accompanies this scene, as noted above, is divided into two distinct sections. Part I, written in three long and three and a half short vertical columns, is a hymn to the sun god, Ré-Horakhty, at his setting.¹⁸ Part II, six and a half short vertical columns above the head of Mutirdis, is a spiritualization text based upon Pyramid Texts 763-764.¹⁹ Both inscriptions are common in the Saite tombs but form an unusual combination in this scene.

The worship of the setting sun seen on this south wall of the stairway landing forms a parallel with the scene from Pylon I - both references to Mutirdis' "Going Forth" by day. During the Ramesside period the same representations of the deceased worshipping the god at sunrise and sunset are found on the thicknesses of the entrance doorways in many of the private Theban tombs (nos. 31, 49, 105, 158, 178, 373).²⁰ An ostrakon found in the Valley of the Kings shows an ancient sketch plan of the tomb of Ramesses IX and

Stairway

designates the first roofed corridor of the tomb as the "Corridor of the Sun."²¹ This name most likely indicates that the sun's rays could only penetrate the initial room of the tomb. Many of the royal tombs from the XIXth and XXth dynasties have hymns to Re' or Re'-Horakhty located in the first corridor of the tomb.

The remaining texts from the stairway of the tomb of Mutirdis are found on the jambs of the doorway which leads from the landing to the continuation of the stairway.²² They consist of spiritualization texts which are derived from the Pyramid Texts (613 b-c).²³ The texts mention the gods. Re', Thoth, Osiris, and the four sons of Horus. Parallel texts are found flanking the doorway on the east wall of the sunken court (Mentuemhet), and on the east wall of Hall I (Pabasa).²⁴

The second tomb containing scenes and texts in the stairway is the tomb of Pedihorresnet. Although this tomb has not been published, some evidence for the thematic repertoire in this area of the tomb may be derived from the reports of the Belgian Expedition in Egypt, headed by H. De Meulenaere and E. Graef.²⁵ This tomb also lacks a lobby and vestibule. The transition from the superstructure to the substructure is emphasized by the landing of the stairway, where there is a 90° turn in the axis of the

Stairway

plan. The landing was uninscribed. The lower portion of the stairway continues with eighteen steps leading directly to the sunken court. The Belgian expedition reports that the lateral walls of the stairway are inscribed with spells from the Pyramid Texts but do not give specific details.²⁶

The scene from the outer lintel of the doorway to the court is unpublished but is described as corresponding to representations found on lintels from other Site tombs: the inner lintel of the doorway to the court (Pabasa) and the inner lintel of the door from the lobby to vestibule (Ibi).²⁷ In the tomb of Pabasa, Osiris and Ré-Horakhty are shown with Horus names between them and a double-scene on each side - the deceased before cartouches of Psamtik I and Nitocris. In the example from Ibi, also a double-scene, Psamtik I stands before Osiris and before Horus, with the tomb owner and a man at the right end. All three examples must have depicted the deceased functioning in an official capacity - participating in offerings to the gods in the presence of the king or Divine Adoratress - and can be considered as biographical representations. The theme of the king or queen offering to the gods is first seen at Thebes in the early XVIIIth dynasty in the tomb of Tetiky (no. 15).²⁸ Later, in the XIXth dynasty tombs at Deir-el-Medina, the tomb owner participates in the royal offering

Stairway

scene.²⁹

The final examples of scenes and texts from the stairway entrance of the Saite tomb are found in the tomb of Sheshonq. Lengthy texts inscribed on the lateral walls of the stairway have been studied by A. Rocatti, a member of the Italian expedition from the University of Rome.³⁰ The inscriptions from both walls are similar: col. 1-6 elaborate offering formula, col. 7-13 invocation against demons, col. 14-22 funerary service of the deceased, and col. 23-33 biographical text. The east wall includes an "Appeal to the Living" (col. 25-29). The offering formula is detailed, including offerings unquents, milk and pomegranate wine ('sdh).³¹ The invocation against demons (col. 7-13) provides spells against Apophis, the serpent of darkness, who threatens to overwhelm the divine bark at sunrise and sunset.³² Column 7 of this section ends with a portion of Chapter 92 from the Book of the Dead which refers to the deceased's "Going Forth."³³ The biographical text may be compared to a Middle Kingdom stela of Sehetepibre' from Abydos, dating to the reign of Senusert I (Cairo mus. no. 20539) and to a similar inscription from the XVIIIth dynasty stela of Kares from Thebes.³⁴ The "Appeal to the Living" expresses a wish for daily funerary offerings (col. 29).³⁵

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Sheshonq is depicted at the lower end of both lateral walls of the stairway, adjacent to the doorway to the vestibule. The figures are nearly life-size and carved in delicate sunk relief.³⁶ Sheshonq is shown standing with staff in hand, as if leaving the tomb. The faces of both figures are destroyed, but portions of his wig remain, revealing a style based upon XVIIIth dynasty models. Sheshonq wears a two-lobed pendant, known from Middle Kingdom prototypes, which also appears in reliefs depicting Mentuemhet (fig. 104),³⁷ This amulet, perhaps an insignia of office, helps to establish the scene as a biographical reference.

Depictions from the stairways are primarily involved with the theme of the deceased "Going Forth" - Spells against demons who threaten the diving bark at sunrise and sunset, hymns to Ré-Horakhty, biographical representations and texts, and the "Appeal to the Living." In tombs lacking a lobby or vestibule (Mutirdis, Pedihorresnet), elements which appear in these rooms in other tombs are adopted into the landing of the stairway or the stairway itself. Thus, the theme of "Transition" (spiritualization texts) appears in the stairway of Mutirdis - while it is not seen in the stairway of Sheshonq, where spiritualization texts are located in his vestibule. A depiction of the deceased

Stairway

participating in royal offerings to the gods is located in the stairway of the tomb of Pedihorresnet, while it appears in the vestibule of other tombs.

All of the scenes and texts discussed in this chapter rely heavily upon models from preceeding periods: Pyramid Texts (Old Kingdom), Book of the Dead (New Kingdom), biographical texts (Middle and New Kingdom), royal offering scenes (New Kingdom), depictions of the deceased leaving the tomb (Old-New Kingdom). The details of the scenes, the garment of Mutirdis, and wig and pendant of Sheshonq are based upon models from the Middle and New Kingdoms. The scenes and texts found in the stairways were previously located near the entrance of New Kingdom tombs - on jambs and thickness of doorways or in the broad hall. The plan of the Saite tomb with its lengthy corridor entrance provides an area of the expansion of these themes - emphasizing the topic of the "Going Forth" and the overlapping theme of "Transition."

Stairway - Notes

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2. Ibid., p. 26
Porter and Moss, Bibliography, I, 1, 2nd ed. p. 357 (2).
3. Assmann, J., Das Grab des Basa, (Mainz, 1973), pp. 95-97 (text 38).
4. Assmann, Mutirdis, p. 28.
5. Ibid., pp. 32-40.
6. Ibid., p. 32.
7. Ibid., pl. 22, 22A, 23, 23A.
8. Ibid., p. 13.
9. Porter and Moss, op. cit., p. 417-418.

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12. Porter and Moss, op. cit., tomb 13 (2-5), p. 25.
13. Ibid., tomb 16 (1 and 2), p. 28; tomb 23 (23 and 26), p. 40; tomb 25 (4), p. 42; tomb 26 (5), p. 43; tomb 30 (2) p. 46.
14. Assmann, J., Mutirdis, Scene III, fig. 7, pl. 11, color plate A(a); pp. 28-30 (text 9A and B).
15. Smith, W.S., The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt, (Baltimore, Maryland; 1966), pl. 180.

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16. Arnold, D. and J. Settgast, "Fünfter Vorbericht über die vom Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Kairo im Asasif unternommenen Arbeiten," MDIK 26 (1970), p. 3.
17. Porter and Moss, op. cit., tomb 36, p. 65 (9); tomb 279, p. 358 (12 and 17).
18. Assmann, J., op. cit., pp. 29-30.
19. Ibid., p. 30, note d.
20. Abdul-Qader, M., op. cit., p. 215.

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21. Daressy, G., G., Catalogue général du Musée du Caire, (Cairo, 1901), pl. 32.

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22. Assmann, J., op. cit., pp. 30-31 (Text 10a-b); pp. 31-32 (Text 11).
23. Ibid., p. 31.

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24. Assmann, J., op. cit., pp. 59-60 (Texts 12b, 13a).
25. Graefe, E., "Zwei Ergebnisse einer Inspektion des Grabes No. 196 in Assasif," Chronique d'Egypte, XLVI (no. 92) July 1971, pp. 234-249.

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28. Ibid., tomb 15, p. 21 (1).
29. Ibid., tomb 323, p. 395.
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32. Clark, R.T.R., Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt, (London, 1958), p. 209.
33. Rocatti, op. cit., p. 26.
34. Ibid., p. 24.
35. Ibid., p. 36.
36. Donadoni, S., "Première Campagne de Fouilles de l'Université de Rome à l'Asasif (1970) - Rapport Preliminaire," ASAE LXXI (1973), p. 17.
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- Leclant, J., Montouemhat, Quatrième Prophète d'Amon, (Cairo, 1961), pl. LXXI.
- Stahlin, E., Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im Alten Reich, (Berlin, 1966), pp. 100-102, pl. xxxvi.

Lobby

The tomb of Ibi has the only example of a lobby in the Saite tombs which contains scenes and texts. The plan of the tomb of Mentuemhet shows a two-columned lobby, but there is no record of inscriptions and the room is presently filled with sand.¹ The lobby of Ibi is inscribed on all walls with scenes and texts carved in delicate relief² (see fig. 105 for repertoire).

The main focus of the room is a statue niche set within an architectural frame, on the south wall opposite the entrance stairway (fig. 106). As remarked in the chapter concerning Saite architectural statuary, this niche marks the butt end of the first axis of the tomb, where a 90° turn to the west (right) leads the visitor to the vestibule. The second axis is also emphasized by a statue niche (plan, statuary chapter, fig. 11). The niche is enclosed within a shrine, depicted in elevation and topped with a cornice. Scheil notes that the cornice was painted with vertical bands of red, blue, and green.³ The statue niche is flanked on either side by three facets, the outer one crowned with a winged sun disk with double uraei.⁴ The overall configuration of the statue niche is similar to niches in the west wall of the vestibule⁵ and west wall of the court of Ibi,⁶ although it lacks the crowning frieze of uraei (vestibule) or kheker (court) which is present in the other examples. In each case, the recesses surrounding the statue niche resemble

Lobby

A false-door enclosed within a shrine. The XVIIIth dynasty tomb, no. 23 at Amarna has a statue niche set within a false-door on the lateral wall of the broad hall.⁷

The inscription of the statue niche, which is largely destroyed, pays homage to:

76 22/3 11/3 12/3 13/3 14/3 15/3 16/3 17/3 18/3 19/3 20/3 21/3 22/3 23/3 24/3 25/3 26/3 27/3 28/3 29/3 30/3 31/3 32/3 33/3 34/3 35/3 36/3 37/3 38/3 39/3 40/3 41/3 42/3 43/3 44/3 45/3 46/3 47/3 48/3 49/3 50/3 51/3 52/3 53/3 54/3 55/3 56/3 57/3 58/3 59/3 60/3 61/3 62/3 63/3 64/3 65/3 66/3 67/3 68/3 69/3 70/3 71/3 72/3 73/3 74/3 75/3 76/3 77/3 78/3 79/3 80/3 81/3 82/3 83/3 84/3 85/3 86/3 87/3 88/3 89/3 90/3 91/3 92/3 93/3 94/3 95/3 96/3 97/3 98/3 99/3 100/3 101/3 102/3 103/3 104/3 105/3 106/3 107/3 108/3 109/3 110/3 111/3 112/3 113/3 114/3 115/3 116/3 117/3 118/3 119/3 120/3 121/3 122/3 123/3 124/3 125/3 126/3 127/3 128/3 129/3 130/3 131/3 132/3 133/3 134/3 135/3 136/3 137/3 138/3 139/3 140/3 141/3 142/3 143/3 144/3 145/3 146/3 147/3 148/3 149/3 150/3 151/3 152/3 153/3 154/3 155/3 156/3 157/3 158/3 159/3 160/3 161/3 162/3 163/3 164/3 165/3 166/3 167/3 168/3 169/3 170/3 171/3 172/3 173/3 174/3 175/3 176/3 177/3 178/3 179/3 180/3 181/3 182/3 183/3 184/3 185/3 186/3 187/3 188/3 189/3 190/3 191/3 192/3 193/3 194/3 195/3 196/3 197/3 198/3 199/3 200/3 201/3 202/3 203/3 204/3 205/3 206/3 207/3 208/3 209/3 210/3 211/3 212/3 213/3 214/3 215/3 216/3 217/3 218/3 219/3 220/3 221/3 222/3 223/3 224/3 225/3 226/3 227/3 228/3 229/3 230/3 231/3 232/3 233/3 234/3 235/3 236/3 237/3 238/3 239/3 240/3 241/3 242/3 243/3 244/3 245/3 246/3 247/3 248/3 249/3 250/3 251/3 252/3 253/3 254/3 255/3 256/3 257/3 258/3 259/3 260/3 261/3 262/3 263/3 264/3 265/3 266/3 267/3 268/3 269/3 270/3 271/3 272/3 273/3 274/3 275/3 276/3 277/3 278/3 279/3 280/3 281/3 282/3 283/3 284/3 285/3 286/3 287/3 288/3 289/3 290/3 291/3 292/3 293/3 294/3 295/3 296/3 297/3 298/3 299/3 300/3 301/3 302/3 303/3 304/3 305/3 306/3 307/3 308/3 309/3 310/3 311/3 312/3 313/3 314/3 315/3 316/3 317/3 318/3 319/3 320/3 321/3 322/3 323/3 324/3 325/3 326/3 327/3 328/3 329/3 330/3 331/3 332/3 333/3 334/3 335/3 336/3 337/3 338/3 339/3 340/3 341/3 342/3 343/3 344/3 345/3 346/3 347/3 348/3 349/3 350/3 351/3 352/3 353/3 354/3 355/3 356/3 357/3 358/3 359/3 360/3 361/3 362/3 363/3 364/3 365/3 366/3 367/3 368/3 369/3 370/3 371/3 372/3 373/3 374/3 375/3 376/3 377/3 378/3 379/3 380/3 381/3 382/3 383/3 384/3 385/3 386/3 387/3 388/3 389/3 390/3 391/3 392/3 393/3 394/3 395/3 396/3 397/3 398/3 399/3 400/3 401/3 402/3 403/3 404/3 405/3 406/3 407/3 408/3 409/3 410/3 411/3 412/3 413/3 414/3 415/3 416/3 417/3 418/3 419/3 420/3 421/3 422/3 423/3 424/3 425/3 426/3 427/3 428/3 429/3 430/3 431/3 432/3 433/3 434/3 435/3 436/3 437/3 438/3 439/3 440/3 441/3 442/3 443/3 444/3 445/3 446/3 447/3 448/3 449/3 450/3 451/3 452/3 453/3 454/3 455/3 456/3 457/3 458/3 459/3 460/3 461/3 462/3 463/3 464/3 465/3 466/3 467/3 468/3 469/3 470/3 471/3 472/3 473/3 474/3 475/3 476/3 477/3 478/3 479/3 480/3 481/3 482/3 483/3 484/3 485/3 486/3 487/3 488/3 489/3 490/3 491/3 492/3 493/3 494/3 495/3 496/3 497/3 498/3 499/3 500/3 501/3 502/3 503/3 504/3 505/3 506/3 507/3 508/3 509/3 510/3 511/3 512/3 513/3 514/3 515/3 516/3 517/3 518/3 519/3 520/3 521/3 522/3 523/3 524/3 525/3 526/3 527/3 528/3 529/3 530/3 531/3 532/3 533/3 534/3 535/3 536/3 537/3 538/3 539/3 540/3 541/3 542/3 543/3 544/3 545/3 546/3 547/3 548/3 549/3 550/3 551/3 552/3 553/3 554/3 555/3 556/3 557/3 558/3 559/3 560/3 561/3 562/3 563/3 564/3 565/3 566/3 567/3 568/3 569/3 570/3 571/3 572/3 573/3 574/3 575/3 576/3 577/3 578/3 579/3 580/3 581/3 582/3 583/3 584/3 585/3 586/3 587/3 588/3 589/3 590/3 591/3 592/3 593/3 594/3 595/3 596/3 597/3 598/3 599/3 600/3 601/3 602/3 603/3 604/3 605/3 606/3 607/3 608/3 609/3 610/3 611/3 612/3 613/3 614/3 615/3 616/3 617/3 618/3 619/3 620/3 621/3 622/3 623/3 624/3 625/3 626/3 627/3 628/3 629/3 630/3 631/3 632/3 633/3 634/3 635/3 636/3 637/3 638/3 639/3 640/3 641/3 642/3 643/3 644/3 645/3 646/3 647/3 648/3 649/3 650/3 651/3 652/3 653/3 654/3 655/3 656/3 657/3 658/3 659/3 660/3 661/3 662/3 663/3 664/3 665/3 666/3 667/3 668/3 669/3 670/3 671/3 672/3 673/3 674/3 675/3 676/3 677/3 678/3 679/3 680/3 681/3 682/3 683/3 684/3 685/3 686/3 687/3 688/3 689/3 690/3 691/3 692/3 693/3 694/3 695/3 696/3 697/3 698/3 699/3 700/3 701/3 702/3 703/3 704/3 705/3 706/3

ntr nfr, n-sw-bít, nb t₃[wy] Psmtk, (r)dí 'nh mⁱ R'

"The good god, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Psamtik (I), May he live like Re," and also mentions Nitocris.⁸ The name of the god, Ptah-Sokar is also included in the text: ꜥꜥ ꜥꜥ ꜥꜥ ꜥꜥ ꜥꜥ

Pth-Skr mry (r)di 'nh

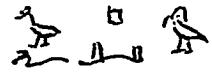
"Ptah-Sokar, beloved, may he live."

Ptah-Sokar, often also fused with Osiris during the late New Kingdom and Late Period (Ptah-Sokar-Osiris), is the syncretistic form of the god Ptah, local god of Memphis, and Sokaris, patron of the necropolis of Saqqara. Ptah-Sokar first appears in Theban tombs during the XIXth-XXth dynasties in different forms: as a hawk-headed god within the naos of his boat (tombs 23, 45, 286), enthroned (23, 211, 323) or anthropomorphized (23, 341).⁹ The tendency towards syncretism is evident throughout all periods of Egyptian religious history, but is particularly prevalent during the Late Period.¹⁰

Lobby

As noted previously (Statuary, p.123), Ibi is the only tomb owner presumed to have included statues of the king and Divine Adoratress in his tomb. This gesture was perhaps an attempt by Ibi to display his gratitude for his appointment as High Steward to Nitocris.

Both walls flanking the statue niche in the lobby of Ibi represent the deceased seated, receiving offerings. Scheil reports that on the west wall Ibi is seated on a chair with a papyrus finial and has a pet gazelle at his feet.¹¹ Ibi extends his left hand towards an offering table containing fruit, meat, and loaves of bread. Three offering bearers approach the table, the third is designated as his son:

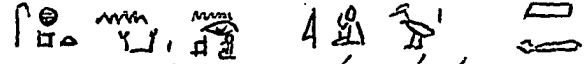

s3 · f p-dí-Hr,

most likely Pedihorresnet, owner of Saite tomb number 196. Representations of the son offering to his father are common from tombs of all periods and are found in tombs 21, 29, 56, 66, 82, 145 from the XVIIIth dynasty and 58, 158, 189, 263, 285, and 341 from the XIXth dynasty.¹³

On the opposite (east) wall, Ibi is seated before an offering table, right hand outstretched, left hand holding an insignia consisting of a "strip of linen."¹⁴ Ibi wears a broad collar, bracelets, and a flaring transparent skirt, reminiscent of styles from the New Kingdom.¹⁵ A detailed


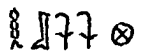
Lobby

offering list fills the registers before the seated tomb owner, extending along the east wall to the entrance doorway. The lowest register, running the length of the wall beneath Ibi and the offering list, depicts "offerings from the estates" - a common element from Old Kingdom tombs.¹⁶ Fifteen male and female offering bearers carry fruit, loaves, flowers, and lead small animals towards a standing figure of Ibi, depicted at the far right of the register. The majority of the bearers are accompanied by the general inscription:


shpt n k3 Wsir Ibi, m3 - hrw

"Offerings for the ka of Osiris Ibi, justified."¹⁷ The eleventh bearer is accompanied by an inscription which indicates offerings from the domain of Ibi:



The eighth and tenth bearers represent the domains of  Nbs and  Hbnn. It is of interest to note that the names of these localities are mentioned in similar scenes from the chapels of several Old Kingdom mastabas.¹⁸ A. Badawy remarks in his description of the tomb of 'Ankhm-
'ahor, that Hebenen(wt) is the name of a type of bread and Nebes refers to the zizyphus tree, as well as a locality.¹⁹ He comments, "It is supposed that estates bearing names of products were indeed fictitious, but such names allowed the

Lobby

deceased to enjoy the products by magic."²⁰ Evidently this tradition was continued in the Late Period.

Other Theban Saite tombs have major offering scenes and offering lists located on the lateral walls of the portal alcove of the sunken court (Pedamenopet, Basa) or in the side chapels of the court (Mentuemhet).

The lobby of Ibi, with its central statue niche resembling a false-door within a shrine and lateral walls with major offering scenes, offering list, and "tribute from the Estates" is reminiscent of the offering chapel from the typical Old Kingdom mastaba.²¹

The remaining scenes and texts from the lobby of Ibi depict topics connected with the theme of the deceased's "going forth." Little information is available for this area of the tomb, but Scheil briefly describes the thematic repertoire.²² On the upper register of the west wall to the right of the doorway, Ibi adores Ré-Horakhty. The god wears a sun disk and uraeus and carries a w₃s scepter and 'ankh. Ibi turns toward him with arms upraised, wearing a panther skin and long robe. The accompanying text is described as a hymn to Ré-Horakhty at his rising.²³ The lower register is destroyed.

A second scene is located on the right (north) thickness of the doorway to the vestibule.²⁴ Ibi is shown in

Lobby

very finely detailed sunk relief, bare-headed, wearing a transparent pleated, wrapped kilt and sandals. He is facing east towards the tomb entrance and holds two braziers, which Scheil notes are dedicated to Amun-Re'.²⁵ Similar scenes are common in XVIIIth dynasty tombs (43, 56, 110, 112, 161, and 256) and are located in the broad hall, adjacent to the entrance.²⁶ New Kingdom tombs include details such as the deceased accompanied by his wife (22) or a musician (tomb 90).²⁷ During the Ramesside period the worship of Amun-Re' is largely eclipsed by the powerful solar god, Re'-Horakhty and as a result, he is depicted in only a few tombs (23, 65, 158, 259).²⁸

In summary, the lobby of Ibi provides a unique example for the study of the repertoire appearing in this first subterranean room of the tomb. The themes represented are: homage to the king and divine adoratress (statue niche, south wall), offerings to the deceased (east and west wall, south of doorway), adoration of Re'-Horakhty (west wall near entrance), and offerings to Amun-Re' (right thickness door to vestibule). Royal statues do not appear in other tombs, although the king and Divine Adoratrix are represented in scenes (Pabasa)²⁹ or by titulary (Mentuemhet).³⁰ The remaining themes from the lobby are accommodated in other locations of the Saite tombs. Major offering scenes and

Lobby

offering lists are found in the side chapels (Mentuemhet) or the portal alcove (Pedamenopet, Basa) of the sunken court. The hymn to Re'-Horakhty at his rising is inscribed on Pylon I in the tomb of Mutirdis. The orientation of scenes where Ibi offers or adores the gods Amun-Re' and Re'-Horakhty he is depicted striding toward the entrance, "Going Forth," to meet the solar gods. The configuration of the central statue niche with its recesses similar to a false-door and lateral walls with the deceased receiving offerings, offering list, and "tribute from the Estates," is reminiscent of the layout and repertoire of the offering chapel of the Old Kingdom mastaba. Other elements find direct precedents in Theban tombs from the New Kingdom.

The lobby serves as a reception room for the visitor to the tomb and as a place for the deceased to communicate with the outside world - to honor his benefactors, receive offerings, and worship the gods which are most closely tied to the world of the living.

Lobby - Notes

1. Porter and Moss, Bibliography, I, (1), 2nd ed., p. 52.
2. Kuhlmann, K. and W. Schenkel, "Vorbericht über die Aufnahmeanalysen im Grab des Jb3 (Theben Nr. 36)," MDIK 28 (1972), pp. 201-211.

Scheil, V., "Le Tombeau d'Aba," Mém. Miss. V (1894), pp. 624-656.
3. Scheil, op. cit., p. 627.
4. Ibid., p. 627.
5. Assmann, J., Das Grab des Basa, (Mainz, 1973), fig. 21.

Porter and Moss, op. cit., p. 63 (5).
6. Assmann, op. cit., fig. 22.

Porter and Moss, op. cit., p. 66 (15).
7. Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna (I-VI), (London, 1903-1908), V, p. 7, pl. xx.
8. Scheil, op. cit., p. 627.
9. Abdul-Qader, M., The Development of the Funerary Beliefs and Practices Displayed in the Private Tombs of the New Kingdom at Thebes, (Cairo, 1966), p. 234.
10. Vandier, J., La Religion Égyptienne, (Paris, 1949), p. 110.
11. Scheil, op. cit., p. 626.
12. Ibid., p. 627.
13. Porter and Moss, op. cit., tomb 21, p. 36(9); tomb 29, p. 46(11); tomb 56, p. 112(5); tomb 66, p. 132(7); tomb 82, p. 165(11); tomb 145, p. 257(1); tomb 58, p. 119(4); tomb 158, p. 269(31) and p. 270(10); tomb 189, p. 295(13); tomb 263, p. 345(3); tomb 285, p. 367(4); tomb 341, p. 408(5).
14. Scheil, op. cit., p. 627.

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15. Smith, W.S., The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt, (Baltimore, Maryland; 1966), pl. 151.
16. Badawy, A., The Tomb of Nyhetep-Ptah at Giza and the Tomb of 'Ankhn'ahor at Saqqara, (Los Angeles, 1978), p. 18.
17. Scheil, op. cit., pp. 629-630.
18. Erman, A. and H. Grapow, Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache, (Leipzig, 1926-1931), III, p. 63, note 16.
19. Badawy, A., op. cit., p. 18.
20. Ibid., p. 18.
21. Bissing, F.W., Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai, (Berlin, 1905 and Leipzig, 1911), I, pl. 11; II, pls. xiv-xxxiv.

Duell, P., The Mastaba of Mereruka, (Chicago, 1938), II, pl. 105-109 (Room XI).

Badawy, A., op. cit., pp. 34-38.
22. Scheil, op. cit., pp. 625-626, 630-632.
23. Ibid., pp. 625-626.
24. Ibid., pp. 630-631.

Porter and Moss, op. cit., p. 63(5).
25. Ibid., p. 630.
26. Porter and Moss, op. cit., tomb 43, p. 83(2); tomb 56, p. 111(6); tomb 110, p. 228(5); tomb 112, p. 229(2); tomb 161, p. 274(1); tomb 256, p. 341(4).
27. Abdul-Qader, M., op. cit., pp. 180-181.
28. Ibid., p. 225.

The Vestibule

The vestibule of the Saite tomb forms both the architectural and thematic transition between the stairway or lobby and the sunken court. This is emphasized by a 90° turn in the main axis of the tomb. Only five of the eight Saite tombs have a vestibule. Four of these rooms, the vestibules of Basa, Ibi, Pabasa, and Sheshonq, will be discussed in the following pages. The depictions from the vestibule of Mentuemhet are reported to be very well preserved, but the room is choked with sand.¹

In general, the quality of the representations in Saite tombs declines from front rooms accessible to the visitor to the tomb inward to the cult chambers. This is especially true in the tombs of Ibi and Pabasa, where the greatest attention to detail and technique is displayed in the vestibule. In the tomb of Basa, particular care was given to the placement of scenes, texts and architectural statuary in order to make a strong impression on the visitor and emphasize the cultic function of the room.

The repertoires of the vestibules vary so greatly from one tomb to another that no typical standard may be derived. The richest repertoire, that of Basa, displays religious scenes, inscriptions dedicated to Re' and Osiris, and a chapel of Hathor, without any biographical inscriptions or statue. In contrast, that of Ibi is primarily

Vestibule

of biographical character. It contains a unique "Appeal to the Living," and among scenes of craftsmen, the earliest representation of faience manufacture. Three Hathoric pillars from the vestibule of Ibi are perhaps a summary interpretation of Hathor's chapel. The repertoire of Pabasa's vestibule again is different, as it consists of scenes of offering to the deceased and his funeral. The vestibule of Sheshonq, still in the process of being cleared, has yielded offering scenes to the deceased and a depiction of the preparation of myrrh.

Basa

J. Assmann, in his description of the tomb of Basa, comments,

"In Gräbern ist mir kein Beispiel bekannt, wo dieser Bildgedanke mit ähnlicher Klarheit und Formstrenge wie bei Basa durchgeführt wäre."²

This tendency is very evident in the vestibule, where the content and composition of scenes, together with the architectural elements divide the room into three thematic cycles: adoration to Re'-Osiris, to Hathor, and the festival cult of the deceased (fig. 107).

The theme of Hathor, "Lady of the Necropolis," is depicted in the central section of the room and is the first cycle encountered upon entering the vestibule. An architectural niche containing a statue of Hathor is

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located in the center of the west wall.³ From the Middle Kingdom onward, Hathor was referred to in tombs and texts as nbt (n) synt, "Lady of the Necropolis."⁴ In this role, she served as the patroness of the Theban Necropolis and of its major festival, "The Feast of the Valley."⁵ The statue, set within the elevation of an Hathoric shrine, serves to welcome the deceased into the Netherworld and underline the presence of the goddess in the tomb.

The southern portion of the vestibule is devoted to the worship of the sun god, Re', and to Osiris. The representations from the south wall are largely destroyed, but Assmann has carefully reconstructed the thematic content. A statue niche is set in the center of the wall and is believed to have held a statue of Osiris. This is indicated by vertical texts on either side of the niche which are taken from a hymn to Osiris.⁶ The niche is in the form of a pr-nw shrine shown in elevation.⁷ The worship of Re' is depicted in the tympanum above the niche and on the remaining areas of the south wall. In the tympanum, the bark of the sun is shown between two groups of adoring baboons, representing the heavenly cult of the sun god. In the upper register of the eastern portion of the same wall, the tomb owner offers to Re'-Hōrakhty. At the west, the deceased stands with hands upraised before Atum. These

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paired scenes represent with cosmic orientation, the worship of the sun god at morning and evening.⁸ The two scenes are closely paralleled by depictions from the north wall of the court in the tomb of Pabasa.⁹ As noted in preceding chapters, the worship of the sun god at morning and evening is found on the pylon and in the stairway of the tomb of Mutirdis and in the lobby of Ibi. It is unusual to find these scenes so far from the tomb entrance, but the vestibule of Basa is the first room containing scenes and texts.

The side walls of this southern portion of the room are also connected to the Re'-Osiris theme. The south end of the west wall depicts a liturgy dedicated to ninety-five gods whose names are inscribed within the representation of a shrine topped by a cornice and uraeus frieze. This "tableau" is based upon Chapters 141-142 of the Book of the Dead.¹⁰ A parallel scene on the opposite (east) wall depicts the "bull and seven cows" and "sons of Horus" from Chapter 148 of the Book of the Dead.¹¹ The same combination of scenes is found on the west wall of the second pillared hall in the tomb of Pedamenopet.¹² Assmann comments that these representations are not to be considered as instructions for the deceased in the context of the Book of the Dead, but rather as invocation offerings in

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connection with the Re'-Osiris cycle depicted in this area of the vestibule.¹³

The northern part of the room is dedicated to the funerary cult of Basa in connection with the festival cult of the dead, "The Feast of the Valley."¹⁴ The division of this segment of the room is emphasized by two Osiride statues of the tomb owner, set in niches on both the east and west walls (fig. 107). Scenes from the north wall are very fragmented. The upper register contains spiritualization texts which are made in connection with the festival.¹⁵ The registers below contain offering scenes and depictions of Basa's family at the festival banquet. The adjacent walls in this northern portion of the room are more completely preserved. On the northern part of the west wall, texts dedicate special hymns to the gods on feast days.¹⁶ Food offerings appear in the registers below. On the opposite (east) wall, Basa is seated and receives menat collars and sistra from the "Songstress of the Temple of Amun."¹⁷ This scene may be reconstructed by comparison to a parallel from the New Kingdom tomb of Puyemre' (no. 39), where it appears on the north wall of the deep hall (fig. 108).¹⁸ The offerings themselves represent attributes of Hathor, patroness of the festival.¹⁹ This ceremony is an episode of the Feast of the Valley, in which temple

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personnel stop at important tombs along the route of the festival procession and dedicate offerings to the tomb owner. It should be noted that the entrances of the Saite tombs, particularly the tombs of Mentuemhet and Pabasa, are located along the southern edge of the causeway of the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut. It is known that this causeway was a major processional route during the New Kingdom and it may have found continued usage during the Late Period.

The absence of a cult statue in this northern section of the vestibule suggests that it was intended for a different purpose. The "north chapel" may be viewed as a reception room for the deceased at the time of the Feast of the Valley, functioning a manner similar to the broad hall of the New Kingdom tomb. This area is naturally too small to fulfill such a function, but perhaps serves as a symbolic substitute for such a room, or as an antechamber to the court where offerings in connection with the festival may have been dedicated.

All scenes and texts in the vestibule are symmetrical, with the exception of a small offering scene and five-lined text located over the doorway from the lobby.²⁰ Basa and his wife are shown seated before an offering table, not a frequent representation found above doorways in either New Kingdom or Saite tombs. During the Old Kingdom such scenes are commonly found above the main entrance

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doorways to tombs or above the doors to the cult chambers.

Symmetry of placement of elements and coordination of scenes and texts in pairs contribute to the impact of the three thematic cycles: Re'-Osiris, Hathor and the festival cult of the deceased. Biographical references are noticeably absent in this room. This will become more apparent when the vestibule of Basa is compared in the following pages to examples from other tombs. Titulary and genealogical texts have been omitted, especially in the offering scenes where they would be expected to appear. Assmann attributes this intentional repression to the fact that Basa held no high titles, other than H₃ty-' n nīwt "Mayor of the City," which was most likely a honorific designation (see Part I, p. 13). Biographical representations of the deceased do, however, appear in Room IV of this tomb. The vestibule of Basa also lacks forms of the cult of the deceased tied to specific cult places such as false-doors, stela and accompanying major offering scenes, offering list and offering ritual. Depictions of offerings to the tomb owner occur only in subordinate scenes or in connection with the festival cult.

Ibi

The repertoire from the vestibule of Ibi consists

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primarily of scenes and texts with biographical content. This is particularly true in areas of the room which were enlarged after Ibi's appointment as High Steward to Nitocris - the west and south walls. The west wall has a statue niche opposite the entrance to the room, which is inscribed with the names and titles of Psamtik I, Nitocris and Shepenupet.²¹ The niche is similar in form to the statue niche from the lobby, yet more complex, representing a shrine with torus molding and cornice within a second shrine (fig. 109). A frieze of uraei with sun disks surmounts the statue niche. Adjacent walls are inscribed with lengthy texts and topped with a kheker frieze. The text on the left consists of a long biography and an "Appeal to the Living," which is quite original in form and content. The text has been studied by K. Kuhlmann.²²

The inscription begins with the traditional introduction of the deceased with names and titles and an appeal to the passerby to enter the tomb, recite offerings and proceed without desecrating the tomb. It follows with a description of the wall scenes concerned with crafts, agriculture, animal husbandry, and the funeral procession. Next is an invitation to the visitor to copy texts onto an empty piece of papyrus so that the deceased might be remembered. The text also invites the visitor to leave graffiti on

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uninscribed areas of the tomb wall and ends with a wish for the receipt of funerary offerings for his ka. Kuhlmann comments that the description of the wall scenes and invitation to copy and leave graffiti are unprecedented.²³ The text implies that the visitor should make funerary offerings essential to the continued well-being of the deceased in exchange for models which could be incorporated into the visitor's own tomb. This exchange is viewed by Kuhlmann as a sacrifice by the tomb owner which reflects a degeneration of the social and religious climate.²⁴ In "Appeals to the Living" from the Old Kingdom, funerary offerings are requested and warnings against desecration are accompanied by threats against the well-being of the tomb visitor.²⁵

Scenes from the south wall of the vestibule contain some of the elements mentioned by Ibi in his "Appeal to the Living." On the eastern portion of the wall, Ibi is shown standing with his staff, overseeing five registers of crafts and industries. Their activities include sculpture, metalwork, pottery, sandalmaking and shipbuilding. Such representations are common in New Kingdom tombs, although shipbuilding appears only once, in the XVIIIth dynasty tomb of Min (no. 109).²⁶ N. de G. Davies has remarked that these scenes were copied from the tomb of

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Ibi's Old Kingdom namesake at Deir el-Gebrawi.²⁷ Although similar topics are represented, copying is highly unlikely, as has been argued by F. von Bissing.²⁸ In the tomb of Ibi at Thebes, many of the groups have been omitted, scenes redistributed and new material appended.

One depiction from the second register of the south wall does appear to be without precedent (fig. 110). A man kneels before a large bowl with hands extended as if manipulating the contents. His companion works on an elaborately colored ornament in the shape of a lily. L. Klebs remarks that this is the first example of the representation of faience manufacture.²⁹ A similar kneeling figure appears in the vestibule of Sheshonq and will be discussed in the following pages.

On the western end of the north wall, the deceased is seated in a kiosk, observing five registers of dancers, musicians, and games. The remaining representations from the enlarged portion of the vestibule are a long autobiographical text on the west end of the north wall and offering scenes from the south end of the east wall. The offering scenes to the right of the doorway from the lobby are particularly interesting (fig. 111). They show a combination of techniques which most likely resulted from a recutting of the original scene. In the upper register,

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Ibi and his mother, Teiri, are seated before an offering table, receiving offerings from a priest. The priest's attendants are shown in sketchy sunk relief, while the background behind the three main figures has been pared down and they appear in carefully modeled raised relief. In the register below, a man offers flowers, probably to the deceased. The musculature of the legs and the details of the garments and sandals are carved with exceptional delicacy.

In the course of the enlargement of the vestibule, three Hathoric pillars were carved from the bedrock in the southern portion of the room (fig. 107). These were perhaps originally intended to lend support but have been destroyed. The offset placement of the pillars was balanced by two engaged Hathoric pilasters (fig. 112) on the north and east walls. The pillars and pilasters create a division of the room which may be compared to the "chapel" of Hathor from the vestibule of Basa, although here it is lacking a central cult object. The scenes from this area are primarily religious. To the left of the door to the court are depictions of the "Bull and Seven Cows" and the "Souls of Nekhen" (fig. 112). At the right are the "Souls of P₃" and the "Four Sacred Oars." The "Bull and Seven cows" and the "Four Sacred Oars" are taken from Chapter 148 of the Book of the Dead and also appear in the

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vestibule of Basa. The same two depictions are found in Ramesside tombs (23, 26, 41) in the deep hall or shrine and are placed in connection with scenes of the funeral and the "Gates" from Chapters 145 and 146 of the Book of the Dead. The remark of Assmann concerning these scenes in the vestibule of Basa is probably also applicable to their appearance in the tomb of Ibi - the scenes function as invocation offerings to the gods, rather than instructional texts for the deceased.³¹ The "Souls of P₃ and Nekhen" are believed by Vandier and Kees to represent divinities from the ancient northern capitals of Buto and Hierakonpolis, rather than the spirits of long-dead prehistoric chieftains.³² These gods are often mentioned in hymns to Osiris as participants in his funeral.³³

Pabasa

The vestibule of Pabasa lacks the full 90° turn in axis found in other Saite tombs. This is compensated, as the room is placed laterally to the main axis (also in other tombs) with the entrance from the stairway in the northwest corner and the door to the court at the east end of the south wall (fig. 107). The walls of this room were lined with limestone slabs to offset the poor quality of the bedrock and allow very finely detailed representations (fig. 113). The range of the repertoire is limited in

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comparison to the two preceding examples (Basa, Ibi). The tomb of Pabasa does not have a lobby, thus it is not surprising to find two major offering scenes depicted on the north and south walls. Parallel scenes are found on the east and west walls in the lobby of Ibi.

On the south wall is a large-scale depiction of Pabasa, seated and receiving a bouquet from his son, Thahorpakhepesh.³⁴ The son is represented as a setem-priest, with a shaved head and pleated, wrapped transparent garment with a diagonal sash. An unusual detail is the delineation of the toes of his left foot, which, according to the canons of Egyptian perspective, are rarely shown. This rendering is first seen in the XVIIIth dynasty tomb of Ahmose Pennekhbet at El-Kab and later appears in tombs 19, 38, 49, 78, and 181 at Thebes.³⁵ Pabasa wears a finely pleated wrapped garment with a serrated hem which extends over his shoulder as a shawl. His wig resembles XVIIIth dynasty styles, as seen in the tomb of Ramose (no. 55).³⁶ He wears a bat emblem (see architectural statuary, p.119) and a broad collar. A gazelle munches a lotus blossom beneath his chair, a detail which may be compared to the depiction of a similar pet in the lobby of Ibi. The face of Pabasa is boldly modeled in high relief. The personalized features, deep cutting of the mouth, and indications of aging flesh

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and muscle correspond to the treatment seen in Saite statuary, such as one of the portraits of Mentuemhet (fig. 114).³⁷

The lower register of the south wall shows a portion of the funeral procession, mourners and standard bearers. The theme is continued on the lower register of the north wall and on the east and west walls. Additional representations of the funeral procession are found in the sunken court of Pabasa (on pillars), as they are in the tomb of Ibi (north and east walls of court) and Mentuemhet (north wall of west portico of court).³⁸

The representation of the funeral rites on the walls of the tombs at Thebes was a common feature throughout the New Kingdom.³⁹ During the early XVIIIth dynasty, scenes from the funeral were located on the walls of the deep hall. During the reign of Amenhotep III and continuing to the end of the Ramesside period, depictions of the funeral are found in the broad hall.⁴⁰

The female mourners from the south wall of the vestibule of Pabasa are represented in the traditional pose - lips parted, arms upraised in a gesture of grief. For comparison, see figure 115, which shows a group of female mourners from the XXth dynasty tomb of Hori (no. 259). In the tomb of Pabasa, three female mourners are represented

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with a single head and the offset profiles of three bodies. The male dancers are depicted by three complete offset profiles. The standard bearers are led by a man representing the nome of Abydos and are differentiated in the details of their garments.⁴¹ The remaining scenes from the vestibule depict the funeral procession with mourners in boats, the sarcophagus dragged by oxen, and the pilgrimage to Abydos.

Sheshonq

Only the east wall from the vestibule of Sheshonq has been cleared and described by members of the Italian expedition from the University of Rome.⁴² The upper half of the wall has been destroyed, but the thematic content may be derived from the remainder. Sheshonq is seated at the right receiving offerings from a standing man who wears a wide, pleated robe and sandals. Sheshonq holds a staff and a kerchief and wears a pleated garment with the hem thrown over his shoulder, identical to the robe of Pabasa. A small monkey is seated beneath his chair and holds a mirror and a lotus blossom. This motif is not new, but shows an original treatment of the details.

The two registers to the left of the offering scene represent the preparation of "pharmaceuticals." At the left of the upper register, a figure kneels over a large,

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footed bowl, hands extended over its contents (fig. 116). The inscription above reads: f₃i 'ntyw "to raise (manipulate?) the myrrh."⁴³ His companion kneels, holding a pestle over a tall mortar. The legend describes his action, shm 'ntyw "to pound the myrrh."⁴⁴ In the register below, a standing figure fans five large vessels in a rack and four globular jars which are identified as containing wine (fig. 117). Drugs such as myrrh were used for perfuming wine and this is perhaps the connection between the two scenes.⁴⁵ The preparation of drugs is known from the New Kingdom tombs 89, 93, and 175.⁴⁶ The most complete representation of this topic occurs in the anonymous tomb, no. 175, which probably dates to the reign of Thutmosis IV. A scene from the west wall of the hall shows the pounding of drugs in mortars, mixing them with animal fats to make unguents, and cooking the compound in caldrons (fig. 118). The figures from the scene of Sheshonq are carved in very slight sunk relief in a dry sketchy style which is comparable to the technique used for the depiction of artisans on the pillars of the court in the tomb of Pabasa (see Part III, F, fig. 153).

In conclusion, the vestibule of Basa represents a memorial to the initiation of the deceased into the realm

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of the gods. Basa is welcomed by Hathor, worships Re^f and Osiris, and is celebrated at the Feast of the Valley. It is significant that the two statue niches were dedicated to gods with a particular association with the Afterlife - Osiris and Hathor, as the Lord and Lady of the Necropolis. The layout of the tomb of Basa was greatly hindered in its east/west axis by preceding tombs. As a result, the sunken court lies laterally to the main axis and is very small in comparison to other Saite tombs. The court remained uninscribed. The vestibule of Basa is quite large in relation to the overall tomb plan and perhaps compensates for the lack of space in the court. The worship of Re^f-Osiris is a predominant theme in the courts of other tombs. Depictions of the funeral in the tomb of Pabasa may also be tied to the theme of "Transition" and the concept of the deceased entering the tomb, into the realm of the gods. In contrast, the majority of scenes and texts from the vestibule of Ibi concern his contact with the world of the living, or as defined in the introduction to Part III, his "Going Forth." The statue niche of the king and Divine Adoratresses, biographical texts, Appeal to the Living, and large-scale offering scenes relate to this theme. Scenes of musicians and crafts and industries (Ibi, Sheshonq) represent the contact of the deceased with the outer world and his

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provisioning for the Afterlife.

The content of the scenes and texts from these rooms reflect a strong dependence upon New Kingdom models, as do the details of the scenes - garments, hairdos and jewelry. The Hathoric shrine (Basa) and Hathoric pillars (Ibi) are unique elements which were most likely inspired by the nearby mortuary temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri.

The vestibule was clearly intended to have a strong impact upon the visitor to the tomb. This was achieved either by the careful placement of scenes, texts and architectural statuary (Basa) or by ornately detailed and vigorously carved representations such as the large offering scene of Pabasa (fig. 113) which was placed so that it formed a well-lit vista, opposite the entrance doorway.

Vestibule - Notes

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The Sunken Court

The repertoire of scenes and texts from the seven preserved examples of sunken courts from the Saite tombs vary so greatly that no typical program may be derived. Thus, a detailed description will be included in the following pages. The representations in the tombs of Ibi and Pabasa are almost completely preserved, but unfortunately, largely unpublished and inaccessible. Major portions of the wall scenes from the tombs of Pedamenopet, Mentuemhet, and Mutirdis have been removed, although some are available for study in museum collections. The court of Basa, with the exception of its portal alcove, was completely uninscribed.

The vaulted portal alcove of the doorway to the subterranean Hall I is a distinct architectural and thematic area of the court in several of the tombs (Pedamenopet, Basa, and Pedihorresnet) and will also be discussed in this chapter.

Four major themes are depicted in the court. Offering scenes, lists, and offering liturgy dedicated to the deceased appear in the portal alcove (Pedamenopet, Basa, Pedihorresnet), left (east or west) wall of the court directly above the burial chamber (Ibi, Pabasa), or, as in the tomb of Mentuemhet, occupy the entire eastern area of the court. Life-size statues of Mentuemhet, set in niches of the court,

The Sunken Court

function as recipients of the offering ceremonies. The representations from the side-chapels of Mentuemhet also contribute to the concept of the sunken court as a "court of offerings." The funeral procession and secular themes of agriculture, animal husbandry, or hunting (Ibi) appear on adjacent walls in the tombs of Mentuemhet, Pabasa and Ibi. This combination of topics is found in the broad hall of almost every New Kingdom private tomb in Western Thebes.

As in preceding rooms, the worship of the gods is an important theme in the court. Hymns and depictions of Re¹ and Osiris are the most frequent representations. The lintel of the entrance doorway from the vestibule contains a double scene dedicated to these two gods which is repeated in three of the tombs (Mentuemhet, Ibi, Pabasa). The repertoire of Pabasa is exceptional in its depictions of numerous gods and mythological topics from the Book of the Dead.

A unique theme is introduced in the tomb of Mutirdis - the purification and introduction of the deceased to the gods, depictions which are based on royal scenes from temples.

The details, sources and style of execution of the scenes and texts from the Saite sunken courts will be examined in the following pages. Figure 119 shows the repertoires of the Saite sunken courts.

The Sunken Court

Pedamenopet

Although the reliefs and texts from the sunken court of Pedamenopet are largely destroyed, a head of the deceased on a squared background remains in the northwest corner of the court and scenes and inscriptions are preserved from the large (4 x 4.5m deep) vaulted portal alcove at the west end of the court.¹ Pedamenopet is shown seated before an offering table on both lateral walls (north and south) of the alcove adjacent to the doorway to Hall I. He wears a short kilt, reminiscent of Old Kingdom styles, and holds a folded kerchief. On the north wall, a lengthy offering list is inscribed over his head and extends to the east. Below the list are two registers representing the offering ritual or "s3h rite" and a register of offering bearers with geese and loaves (fig.120). The composition ends with three registers, each showing two offering bearers carrying haunches of meat, fish, fruit and leading a diminutive ox. The offering ritual also appears on the east wall of Hall V in the tomb of Pedamenopet,² in abbreviated form on the west wall of Chapel D in the tomb of Mentuemhet,³ and on the east wall of the court of Pabasa.⁴ The depiction of the offering ritual from the tomb of Pedamenopet closely conforms to models from Old Kingdom tombs, as, for example, in the tomb of Kagemni where it

The Sunken Court

appears in one register on the north and south walls of the offering room (fig.121).⁵ The ritual is shown in two registers in the New Kingdom tomb of Rekhmire.⁶

As is customary, the ritual is depicted in several phases in the tomb of Pedamenopet. In the upper register, funerary offerings of 1w'w (a thigh of beef), ht ndm (sweets), and 1rp (wine) are dedicated by a setem-priest. Spiritualizations are recited by lector priests (hry-hbt). The footprints of the participants are swept out by a seventh priest, as was done in the rite of "Bringing the foot" (1nt rd) in temple rituals.⁷ In the second register, libations are poured and an offering of incense is made by the prophets (hm-ntr) and a lector priest. The configuration of the portal alcove with its main offering scene, offering list, offering bearers and offering ritual strongly resembles the offering chapel of the Old Kingdom tomb. Pedamenopet's alcove and the typical Old Kingdom offering room share the same orientation, but the scenes in the tomb of Pedamenopet flank the entrance to the subterranean rooms of the tomb, instead of the Old Kingdom false-door of the deceased, and most likely served a symbolic rather than a functional role in his funerary cult.

The offering list ritual appears in New Kingdom tombs

The Sunken Court

in various locations: the portico (tomb 48), broad hall (66) or deep hall (78, 81).⁸

Mentuemhet

The sunken court of Mentuemhet is complex, both architecturally and in its thematic repertoire. As mentioned in previous chapters, the court of Mentuemhet has two large statue niches cut into the east wall, five side-chapels on both the north and south walls, and a raised pillared portico at the west end.

The theme of the worship of Re^f and Osiris, which is prevalent in the Saite sunken courts, is introduced on the lintel of the doorway from the vestibule (fig.122). A double scene shows Psamtik I seated twice in the center before Osiris and Re^f-Horakhty. On the southern thickness, he is represented bareheaded, wearing the panther skin of a setem-priest, standing before offerings. The scene is accompanied by the text of four sun hymns.⁹

Seated statues of Mentuemhet and his wife and Mentuemhet with his mother are carved in the statue niches of the east wall (Part II, Chapter 7, pp. 117-120). Massive bound papyri in high relief are depicted between the chapels of the north and south walls. Mentuemhet is shown seated on either side of the chapel doorways and wears either the panther skin or a plain short kilt (fig.123). He holds a

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long staff and an insignia of folded cloth or an 'aba scepter. Mentuemhet also wears a broad collar (with traces of blue paint extant in several examples) and the "two-lobed" pendant which is later seen in the tombs of Pabasa and Sheshonq. His wig is shoulder-length and unstriated. The features of his face are similar in all depictions, delicately carved with full lips, representing him in youth, in contrast to sculpted portraits (Part III, Chapter 1C, fig. 114 which show him at an advanced age.

The chapels of the court (A-J) are dedicated to Mentuemhet, with the exception of E (of 'Akiu, "Hereditary Prince") and chapel F (of Irhepiaut, "Head Bowman of the Cavalry") (see II, 2G, pp. 80-85). Chapel K is reached by a stairway leading downward from the southwest corner of the court and was perhaps intended for Mentuemhet's wife. She is represented in a scene above the doorway to the chapel.¹⁰ Chapels A, G, H, I, and J were unfinished.

On the east wall of chapel B, Mentuemhet is shown with arms upraised in adoration before 72 names of Osiris (fig. 124). The west wall shows the tomb owner offering before the names and representations of 74 gods (fig. 125). These depictions are derived from chapters 141-142 of the Book of the Dead and appear in royal tombs and monuments at Thebes and in the Osireion of Seti I at Abydos.¹¹ They are also

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found in four New Kingdom private tombs: the XVIIIth dynasty tomb of Puymere' (no. 39),¹² the two tombs of the architect Sen(en)mut (nos. 71, 353),¹³ and the Ramesside tomb of Userhat (no. 51).¹⁴ The reliefs from chapel B of Mentuemhet closely resemble scenes from both tombs of Senmut and may have been copied. The chapel was lined with limestone, allowing finely detailed scenes to be carved in sunk relief. An inscription near the doorway was outlined in red (fig.126), but remained unfinished.

Chapel C was described by Scheil, who believed that it comprised the entire tomb of Mentuemhet.¹⁵ The tomb owner is shown seated on both east and west walls, before a long offering list and three registers of offering bearers. The lowest register on both walls shows scenes of butchering (fig.127). A. Erman has observed that these scenes were very carefully copied from the east wall of the "Southern Hall of Offerings" from the temple of Hatshepsut.¹⁶ In her temple, the scenes appear in three superimposed registers on either side of a doorway (fig.128). The Saite artist has omitted the third episode from both middle registers of Hatshepsut's scenes in order to adapt them to the narrow single register of Mentuemhet's chapel. The inscription has been copied almost exactly, with changes only reflecting Mentuemhet's position and gender.¹⁷ Identifying details of

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the animals, such as tails and curved horns, have been carefully reproduced. A photograph from chapel C of Mentuemhet (fig. 129) shows that the relief was executed in a detailed, refined style which must have equalled that of the royal monument (photograph unavailable).

The deceased is seated receiving offerings on the lateral walls of chapel D. An abbreviated version of the offering list ritual with seven participants appears on the west wall. Two figures pour libations, a third dedicates food offerings, three lector priests recite spiritualizations for the tomb owner, and the final figure "sweeps out the footprints." The remaining chapels are uninscribed or dedicated to other officials.

Additional offerings to Mentuemhet appear in vertical columns in the northwest and southwest corners of the court, preceding the west portico (figure 130). Five granite offering table, one dedicated to the deceased, were discovered during the clearance of the court in 1939-1941.¹⁸

The two-columned raised portico at the western end of the court creates a spatial division which is accompanied by a change in the themes represented in this area. The north, south, and west walls of the portico were originally lined with limestone. Only a portion of the north facing remains. Many loose blocks, which probably originated from

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this area have found their way into American and European museums.¹⁹

The four registers from the north wall depict episodes of the funeral procession (fig. 131). The first register shows the hauling of the funerary sledge by four men. A fifth man pours water before it. Funerary equipment is carried in the register below, including two chariots and a bow. In the third register, offerings of loaves, fruit and jars appear on stands within booths constructed of plant stems and decorated with papyrus and lotus blossoms. Crouching mourners kneel above (faintly visible at right) or alongside slaughtered animals. The bottom register shows a large boat sailed in the pilgrimage to Abydos (not shown in photograph). All of these elements are found in funeral scenes from New Kingdom tombs. The funerary booths first appear in the XVIIIth dynasty tomb of Dhutnefer (no. 80),²⁰ and become a common feature during the Ramesside period. The representation of chariots as part of the funerary equipment is found in the deep hall of XVIIIth dynasty tombs (56, 57, 63, 78, 85, 121, 151, 172).²¹ The chariot appears only once in connection with the funeral in Ramesside tombs. In tomb 324, a chariot is shown on the deck of a boat which is making the voyage to Abydos.²²

Topics represented on the loose blocks include the

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funeral and funerary banquet, tribute from the estates, agriculture, crafts, and fishing and hunting. A block from the Brooklyn Museum (no. 52.131.24-25) shows prostrate and kneeling mourners in a register above three female offering bearers (fig. 132).²³ The woman to the left carries grapes and is accompanied by the inscription, īrp n ḥ₃ty-ꜣ mr ḥwt-ntr n... "Wine for the prince, chief (of the prophets) of the temple of (Amun)."²⁴ The second woman carries a jar and the third a large head of lettuce.²⁵ Between them is the inscription, Ḥsp n r nīwty ḥm-ntr t₃ty n... "Produce from the local prophet, vizier of... ." The second text probably does not refer to Mentuemhet, as the titles are not found in the lengthy titularies elsewhere in his tomb or from temple inscriptions.²⁶

Other offerings from estates appear on a block from the de Young Museum, San Francisco.²⁷ A scene of a man cleaning fish occupies the upper register of this block (fig. 133). The woman in the register below carries grapes (?), with the notation, ī₃rrt n ḥm-ntr 4-nw (ḏ)mn "Grapes for the Fourth Prophet of Amun."²⁸ The male offering bearer carries cucumbers, loaves and lettuce. The inscription notes, Ḥsp n sš ḥwt-ntr (pr) ḏImn "Produce for the temple scribe of the domain of Amun."²⁹ The scene of a man cleaning fish and watched by an overseer may have been copied by

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the artists of Pabasa. The same composition is found on pillar C of his court, although executed in a more sketchy style. Similar scenes appear in Old Kingdom tombs,³⁰ and during the New Kingdom at Thebes (fig. 134).³¹

In addition to the offerings from the estates, another scene which could be considered as a detail from the funerary meal is a fragment from the Brooklyn Museum (no. 49.17) showing a harpist and singer (fig. 135).³² The inscription hs(w)t "Minstrel," is strangely written in feminine form.³³ The treatment of both figures closely follows models known from the Old Kingdom onward.³⁴

Scenes from two blocks believed to belong to the west portico of Mentuemhet show evidence of direct copying from the New Kingdom tomb of Menna (no. 69) in the Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna district of Thebes. In the upper register of a block from the Brooklyn Museum (no. 48.74), two women are seated facing each other on ribbed stools (fig. 136).³⁵ A detail from a painted scene from the fourth register of the north wall of the broad hall of Menna has been described as "a girl pulling a thorn from the foot of her companion" (fig. 137).³⁶ The Saite artist has repeated the same translucent garments and active pose of the figures. In the second register of the Saite relief, a woman is seated between two trees, with her right arm extended over a bowl

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of figs(?). She holds a child who is nursing at her right breast. A scene from the same wall of Menna shows a woman engaged in identical activities (fig. 138).³⁷ The Saite artist has formalized the composition and details. The woman is balanced between small-scale trees and is seated on a chair with papyrus finials. The bowl of fruit is elevated on a stand. The simple hairdo of the woman from the tomb of Menna has been transformed into a striated "lappet" wig and tied with a ribbon. The Saite artist has maintained the same awkward position of the child, yet shows the mother sitting comfortably with legs crossed, a rare detail in Egyptian art. This position is suggested in the tomb of Menna, where one leg is raised above the other.

Another unusual fragment from the portico of Mentuemhet (fig. 139)³⁸ shows close similarities in theme and composition to a scene from the tomb of Menna (fig. 137).³⁹ Two girls are bending over a basket and ears of wheat, pulling each other's hair. The scene from the tomb of Menna shows girls in an identical pose, quarreling beneath a basket carried by two men. The painted scene from the tomb of Menna is more animated and lacking in detail, but this is possibly a reflection of the medium. The Saite tendency toward elaboration of detail, and refined contours and composition is again apparent in this example.

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Many of the other loose blocks from the portico of Mentuemhet have unusual details which may eventually be found to have precedents in other New Kingdom tombs. These include topics such as a flock with leaping goats, a man delivering a calf, and a man picking lotuses.⁴⁰ Scenes depicting agricultural activities are rare in Theban Saite tombs and appear only here and in the courts of Ibi and Pabasa, where they are also found near scenes of the funeral procession.

Mutirdis

The sunken court of Mutirdis is small, only 7 meters square, and its most notable deviation from other Saite courts is its shallow depth, 2.7 meters below the level of the forecourt. The court abuts against the pillered façade of the XIth dynasty Intef tombs, which hindered the east/west development of the tomb. As a result, a doorway cut in the south wall of the court leads to the subterranean rooms I-III and the burial chamber. The façade of the Intef tombs was hewn perpendicularly and its last intercolumnation was filled to create the west wall of the court of Mutirdis. The north and east walls of the court were reinforced with mudbrick and faced with limestone to compensate for the quality of the bedrock and allow finely carved reliefs. These are no longer

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extant and only the scenes carved into the natural rock of the south wall are preserved.

Scenes from the east side of the south wall represent offerings to Osiris and the purification of the deceased (fig.140). Only a fragment of the upper register remains, which Assmann describes as an episode from the daily temple ritual, db3 mnht n it1.f "Providing clothing to his father (Osiris)."⁴¹ Mutirdis is shown at the left of the second register with arms upraised in adoration. She follows a woman who is depicted in larger scale, indicating her importance, and holds a libation vessel and censor. This woman is most likely the Divine Adoratress, Nitocris. Osiris is seated in the center of the scene and holds a crook and flail. Isis stands behind him, wearing contemporary clothing, as does Anubis, and Mutirdis in the register below. Anubis holds a w3s scepter and ankh and a second goddess stands behind him. The scene represents adoration and offerings primarily to Osiris, by the Divine Adoratress and Mutirdis, who acts as a secondary participant. A parallel scene is found in the court of Pabasa, where the deceased assists in an offering of wine by Nitocris to Osiris.⁴²

In the bottom register, the falcon-headed Horus pours water from an upraised libation vessel over Mutirdis. In

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contrast to the register above, her son, Inaros, serves as the observer in this scene. He is represented bald-headed, as a priest, with arms upraised. In the second episode, Horus and Thoth lead the deceased before the Goddess of the West and Osiris. The water signs which appear above the hands of the Goddess of the West are believed to be related to the importance of water as a form of sustenance for the deceased in the Netherworld.⁴³ The scenes of purification and welcoming parallel the ritual priestly investiture of the king, the so-called "Baptism of Pharaoh,"⁴⁴ which is depicted on numerous temple walls. These scenes are not found in any other private tombs. The closest comparison is a purification of the deceased by sem and lector priests in the XVIIIth dynasty tomb of Sennefer (no. 96) (fig.141).⁴⁵ A similar scene appears in the tomb of Kenamun (no. 93), which dates to the same period.⁴⁶

Chapter 146 from the Book of the Dead is represented on the west part of the south wall (fig.142).⁴⁷ The upper registers are largely destroyed, showing only an ape-headed god and the "Four sons of Horus." Below, fifteen guardians holding knives and ankhs stand within compartments topped with a kheker frieze or a serpent. The guardians proceed towards the right (west) to a standing figure of Mutirdis. In this example, the gatekeepers look outward from the

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interior of the tomb, the opposite of depictions of this chapter found in the stairway of Mutirdis. Mutirdis is no longer asking for admission, but rather for protection, signifying that she has already entered the Netherworld and that this area of the tomb is to be symbolically considered as part of it.⁴⁸ A parallel scene from the New Kingdom occurs in the tomb of Senmut (no. 353).⁴⁹

Although badly damaged, this south wall from the court of Mutirdis reflects the richness of detail and quality of execution which is characteristic for this tomb. A detail from the east part of the wall (fig. 143) shows these qualities and the unconventional garments of the gods and goddesses.

Basa

With the exception of the portal alcove, the court of Basa has no scenes or inscriptions. However, all four walls have a different architectonic treatment, which will be discussed in connection with the thematic repertoire. The north and south walls are the most similar. Both have engaged half-columns flanking a central element. On the north wall, the columns are placed on either side of an uninscribed niche (fig. 144). On the south, they flank either side of the doorway from the vestibule. Assmann notes that these columns may be viewed as a typological

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remnant of the side-chapels of Saite tombs 33, 36, 279, 196, and 27.⁵⁰ It is of interest to note that the half-columns are located along the main east/west axis of the tomb, not along the sides of the court, another indication of the adaptations in this tomb due to lack of space. The west wall has two niches set within architectural frames (fig. 145), a feature which appears in the vestibule of Basa and in the tombs of Ibi and Mentuemhet. The east wall is completely bare.

The portal alcove is located in the center of the west wall of the court and leads to Hall I. The scenes and texts from the doorway and lateral walls are greatly damaged, but have been restored by Assmann.⁵¹ The inscriptions from the jambs of the doorway consist of spiritualization texts for the deceased and excerpts from the "Book of Gates," Chapters 145 and 146 from the Book of the Dead.⁵² On either side of these are offering formulas mentioning Osiris and Amun-Re of Karnak.⁵³ The upper portions of the side walls appear to have been very similar to representations from the portal alcove of Pedamenopet. The deceased is seated before an offering table and offering list. In the register below the list, several priests perform the offering ritual. The second register closely parallels offering scenes from the south wall of

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the Southern Hall of Offerings from the temple of Hatshepsut.⁵⁴ Offering bearers present the "seven sacred oils," cosmetics, and garments to the deceased. Figure 146 shows the offering of H3tt n Thnw "unguent from Libya," and w3dw "green eye-pigment," an exact copy from the scene of Hatshepsut. The lowest register depicts offerings of haunches of meat and geese by the lector priests and prophets, the slaughter of oxen and fettering of animals. Figure 147 shows a detail of this last scene. The figures are animated, yet show a cursory treatment of the musculature of the figures and details.

Ibi

The court of Ibi exhibits a combination of themes. The scenes and texts are well-preserved, but the majority are unpublished. The lintel of the doorway from the vestibule to the court of Ibi shows the same theme of Re'-Osiris worship seen in the tomb of Mentuemhet. The Horus name of Psamtik I appears between seated figures of Osiris and Re'-Horakhty with the deceased standing at both ends.⁵⁵

A statue niche bearing the cartouches of Nitocris and Shepenupet is located at the south end of the west wall (fig. 148). The recessed panels of the niche are set within the depiction of a shrine with torus molding, cornice and a winged sun disk.

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The statue niche is very similar to niches in the lobby and vestibule of Ibi.

A major offering scene and offering list occupy the center of the west wall, directly above the burial chamber. This connection has been seen in Egyptian tombs from the Old Kingdom onward. Secondary offering scenes of the deceased seated with his mother Deubasteiri (variant Teiri) appear on the east and west side of the south wall and on the eastern part of the north wall.⁵⁶

The court of Ibi shows the same combination of agricultural and funeral scenes found in the west portico of Mentuemhet. On the west part of the north wall are six registers depicting the funeral procession. Scheil has copied three of these registers (fig.149).⁵⁷ In the top register the cortége is welcomed by the Goddess of the West. Two men herald the procession and a third reads from a papyrus roll. The sledge is hauled by three oxen with the assistance of several men. Next in the procession are mourners and a priest burning incense and pouring libations. Two women stand at the head and foot of the mummy, representing Isis and Nephthys. The second register shows the delivery of the burial furniture to the tomb. The seh façade of the tomb is represented, with a doorway and topped with a cornice. The equipment includes a bed,

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statues, kilts, bows and a mirror. The third register depicts the transfer of the "nine friends" and a casket. At the end of the scene, bound cattle are arranged around the depiction of a slaughter court, rimmed with trees, shown in rabatted perspective. This detail appears in New Kingdom tombs, such as the XVIIIth dynasty tomb of Rekhmire, where the cattle are shown in different stages of the slaughtering process, arranged around a pool which is rimmed with sycamores (fig.150). The scene also is shown in cult room I of the tomb of Basa. The lowest registers of the north wall in the tomb of Ibi depict the voyage to Abydos. Seven additional unpublished registers on the north part of the east wall contain scenes of the funeral.

Adjacent to the funeral scenes on the north wall are three registers of hunting and registers of agricultural scenes. A detail from the hunting scenes (fig.151), shows hunting with bows for lions, gazelles and a porcupine. Comparable scenes do not appear in other Saite tombs, but many examples many examples are known from XVIIIth dynasty tombs, before the content of the wall scenes became exclusively religious.⁵⁸

Pabasa

The square pillars of the side aisles from the sunken court of Pabasa provide an additional area for scenes and

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texts (fig. 152). Very few representations from this court have been published and therefore can only be briefly described. The theme of the worship of Re'-Osiris again occupies the lintel of the doorway.⁵⁹ Osiris and Re'-Horakhty are seated with Horus names between them. The deceased is shown worshipping the cartouches of Psamtik I and Nitocris at either side of the central scene. To the left (east) of the doorway is a litany and hymn to Re', and a scene of the deceased adoring Re'-Horakhty. On the right (west) the deceased adores Atum. The same composition is found in the vestibule of Basa, on either side of the Osiris statue niche.

A major offering scene with offering list and offering list ritual is located on the east wall, in the same place as the court of Ibi, although here the burial chamber is a few meters to the southeast. The variety of gods worshipped in the court of Pabasa is greater than that of preceding examples. At the east end of the south wall the tomb owner adores Ptah. At the left (east) of the door to Hall I, Pabasa participates in an offering by Psamtik I and Nitocris to Hathor and Re'-Horakhty.⁶⁰ To the right of the door, Pabasa and Nitocris offer wine to Osiris-Onnophris, Harsiēsi, and Isis.⁶¹

Many of the pillars are inscribed with texts and

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small vignettes from the Book of the Dead: the ba and Benu bird (A), Anubis before a mummy (A), the deceased before Ptah (E), the deceased with his ba and a mummy (E), the Hathor cow (F), and a tree-goddess (D and G). Pillar B depicts the initial stages of a funeral: preparing the funeral bed, and provisioning with linen, a mirror, and chest. Agricultural scenes are carved on pillar C: netting and cleaning fish, spinning, picking fruit and beekeeping. Scenes of vintage are represented on pillar D. The scene of beekeeping is located in a prominent place in the court and has been noted to represent a unique and original topic (fig. 153).⁶² The composition is new, but scenes of beekeeping are known from XVIIIth dynasty tombs. A sub-scene from the east wall of the broad hall of the tomb of Amenhotep (no. 73) shows a man tending beehives.⁶³ The tomb of Rekhmire⁶ (no. 100) depicts the preparation of honey.⁶⁴ The scene from the court of Pabasa shows two columns of bees before a man pouring honey. In the lower register a man kneels, arms upraised, before two rows of bees between two columns of jars. The adoration of the bees may have some religious significance. At Sais, the capital of Egypt during this period, the hwt bít "castle of the bee" was a site where a local form of Osiris was worshipped.⁶⁵ Another sacred site, 3h bít "thicket of the

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bee" was the mythological place where Isis took refuge with Horus.⁶⁶ The shallow carving and summary treatment of the figures in this scene present a strong contrast to the vigorous contours and detail displayed in the reliefs from the vestibule of Pabasa.

Pedihorresnet

Little information is available on the sunken court of Pedihorresnet. The plan shows a small court with side-aisles and a comparatively large portal alcove at the west. Two monumental false-doors or statue niches are located on both sides of the entrance doorway of the east wall (fig. 154). The Belgian expedition reports that the portal alcove contains scenes similar to those in the same location in the tomb of Pedamenopet.⁶⁷

Conclusion

The scenes and inscriptions from the sunken courts of the Saite tomb represent several themes. The worship of Re¹-Osiris is a prevalent topic, seen both on the lintels of the entrance (Mentuemhet, Ibi, and Pabasa) and in scenes and texts at various locations throughout the court. This tradition may be traced to the forecourt of Ramesside tombs, where stelae inscribed with sun hymns and hymns to Osiris flank the entrance to the tomb. The secular themes of agriculture and hunting found in the

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tombs of Mentuemhet, Ibi and Pabasa, are located in close proximity to depictions of the funeral procession. Both cycles are depicted on adjacent walls in almost every New Kingdom private Theban tomb.

Major offering scenes, lists and rituals are found on the left (west or east) wall of the court (Ibi, Pabasa), in side-chapels (Mentuemhet), or in the portal alcove (Pedamenopet, Basa, Pedihorresnet). The configurations of both the side-chapels and the portal alcoves are reminiscent of the offering chapels of the Old Kingdom tomb. Several offering tables were discovered during the excavation of the court of Mentuemhet. These would have marked places for actual offerings, either in the court or side-chapels. The false-doors from the courts of Pedamenopet, Basa, and Pedihorresnet would probably have been the focal point of offerings in the courts of these tombs, rather than the portal alcove.

As in other areas of the Saite tomb, the placement and orientation of scenes are significant in the sunken court. In the tomb of Mutirdis, the orientation of the guardians of the gates indicates that the court was symbolically considered as part of the Netherworld. The double scene of the deceased adoring Re' and Osiris, which appears on the lintel of the doorway connecting the

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vestibule to the court (Mentuemhet, Ibi, Pabasa), also defines the symbolic boundary between the world of Re' or Re'-Horakhty and that of Osiris, the Netherworld. The theme of the offering liturgy located as close as possible above the burial (Ibi, Pabasa) contributes to this interpretation. Additional evidence is found in the representation of the funeral (Mentuemhet, Ibi), always shown in the mastaba chapels as the last scene on the way to the burial shaft ('Ankhn'hor),⁶⁸ and the scene of purification and introduction of the deceased to the gods (Mutirdis).

This interpretation of the court, based on the content of the repertoire, as the boundary or link between the part of the Saite tomb symbolizing this world and the next part representing the Netherworld conforms to a result of our architectural investigation (see Part II, Chapter 4). In the discussion of the influence of domestic architecture on the Saite tomb plan, the tomb was compared to the New Kingdom "villa," as seen at Amarna. The sunken court of the tomb and the central hall or living area (with offering place) of the villa both serve as the boundary between the public or accessible areas of the structure and the private areas (cult and burial chambers of the tomb = private bedrooms and dependencies of the house).

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The Sunken Court - Notes

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53. Ibid., pp. 97-98 (texts 39-40).
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The Cult Chambers

The cult chambers were considered as a thematic and spatial representation of a portion of the Netherworld, as is indicated by representations in both these rooms and the sunken court. In contrast to the burial chambers, where regions of the Netherworld are more explicitly depicted in the "Books of Caverns, Imi-Duat, Aker, and Gates," the examples from the cult chambers show specific rites which concern the deceased - the lengthy "Opening of the Mouth" ritual, the "Judgment of the Deceased," and the guiding of the deceased toward the interior of the tomb by Anubis.

The basic plan of the cult chambers is a longitudinal deep hall with two rows of pillars forming side aisles, and a shrine with a central statue niche or false-door. The side chapels of the cult rooms, as in the sunken courts, were intended or used for subsequent burials and contribute to the designation of Saite tombs as "Grabpalästen."

As in preceding chapters, the diversity of available evidence, state of preservation, and content of the thematic repertoire is significant enough to require an examination of the individual tombs (repertoire of tombs, fig. 155).

Pedamenopet

The extensive cult chambers of Pedamenopet consist of rooms I - III, lying along the main east/west axis of the

tomb, and a second series of rooms (IV - IX) which extend to the north from room III. Scenes and texts from this area of the tomb have been recorded by J. Dümichen¹ and F. Von Bissing,² and contribute more to our knowledge of the repertoire of these rooms than representations found in any of the other tombs. Hall I, a rectangular deep hall with two rows of four pillars, is the basic form adopted for the cult chambers. Unfortunately, Hall I is the most poorly-preserved of the cult rooms of Pedamenopet.

Von Bissing notes that the walls and pillars were inscribed with texts from the Book of the Dead, but does not specify their content.³ Pedamenopet is shown kneeling on the thicknesses of the doorway to the room, arms raised in adoration of Re-Horakhty.⁴ The area above the doorway to Hall II is carved with the "transom window" motif which appears above the statue niches in the court of Mentuemhet. Von Bissing's description indicates that the individual elements of the design - djed pillars, small doorways, and paired bound papyri, more closely resemble the painted transom above an interior doorway in the New Kingdom tomb of Puyemre'.⁵

The thickness of the doorway to Hall II shows the deceased with his staff "going forth" from the interior of the tomb. The inner jambs of the door are inscribed with an "Appeal to the Living." It is unusual for both of these elements to be found in such an interior location in

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the tomb. Assmann points out that the text was copied by Basa in Hall I of his tomb, and that orthographic peculiarities indicate that the text was originally taken from the New Kingdom tomb of Hatshepsut's Chief Steward, Senenmut (no. 71).⁶

Scenes from Hall II depict Pedamenopet before gods who have a close relationship to the deceased in his afterlife - Osiris, Anubis and Thoth. In the south corner of the west wall, the deceased offers to Osiris. On the west wall near the door to room III is a scene from chapter 148 of the Book of the Dead, the "bull and seven cows." The text which accompanies this scene describes how these cows are to provide the deceased with food and drink in the Netherworld.⁷ A "Liturgy to 95 Gods" from chapters 141-142 of the Book of the Dead, appears on the opposite wall. This text allows the deceased to pay homage to the gods who people the Netherworld. As mentioned in a previous chapter, the same combination of scenes is found on opposite walls in the vestibule of Basa.⁸

A conventional false-door with illegible inscriptions occupies the west wall of Room III, the focus of the main east/west axis of the tomb. The central element is flanked by scenes of offering bearers and unspecified texts from the Book of the Dead.⁹ Pedamenopet and his wife are shown

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seated before jars on stands on the south wall near the door to IIIa, and oil jars and amphorae are shown on the opposite wall.¹⁰ This first series of cult rooms from the tomb of Pedamenopet contains some depictions which are located in the initial rooms (stairway, lobby, vestibule, or sunken court) of other Saite tombs. This may have resulted from the lack of a lobby and vestibule, although Assmann surmises that these rooms might be discovered with further excavation. It is also likely that the multiple cult chambers of this tomb contribute to the overlapping of themes.

The west thickness of the door to room IV shows the deceased led by Anubis and Ma't towards the interior of the tomb (fig.156). A bull, identified as hp(w), the "Apis" bull, emerges from a hillside.¹¹ Anubis, the "guardian of the Necropolis," is frequently shown guiding the deceased in tomb scenes from the New Kingdom, as in the tomb of Amenemopet (no. 41) where he appears in this role in four different episodes.¹² Anubis and Ma't lead Pedamenopet toward room IX, where these three participate in the Judgment scene, the "Weighing of the Heart," located at the end of the axis of this northern series of rooms. The role of the Apis bull in this scene is unclear; he does not appear in other Theban tombs.¹³ His inclusion may be tied to Memphite

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tradition, where the Apis is known as the "Herald of Ptah,"¹⁴ and as Osiris-Apis, he is considered as a funerary god.¹⁵

The west thickness of the door to room V shows Pedamenopet seated before an offering table with jewelry, vases, and ritual instruments depicted above him (fig. 157).¹⁶ Episodes from the book of the "Opening of the Mouth" are carved on the east and west walls of room V. Representations of this ritual are known from the Old Kingdom¹⁷ and first appear at Thebes in the XVIIIth dynasty tomb of Dhout (no. 11).¹⁸ The most complete cycle (50 scenes) is found in seven registers in the deep hall of the tomb of Rekhmire' (no. 100).¹⁹ The initial scene from the east scene from the east wall of room V, a ceremonial slaughter scene (fig. 4), has been traced back by E. Otto to archaic hunting rituals which were first depicted in the Vth dynasty temple of Neuserre' at Abusir.²⁰ This episode also appears in the tomb of Rekhmire',²¹ the tomb of king Seti I,²² and later in the XXVIth dynasty temple of Amenirdis at Medinet Habu.²³

In this version from the tomb of Pedamenopet, the setem-priest signals the beginning of the rite with his raised hrp scepter. The butcher cuts the leg of the bull and is watched by the "small kite" (drt ndst), who is identified with Isis.²⁴ The lector priest stands in attendance. In

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the following episode, the butcher gives the heart to the priests and to the smr "friend." Next the butcher presents the haunch to the lector priest. Finally, the heart and haunch are presented by the priest to the mummiform statue of the deceased. Other episodes of the ritual show the "opening of the mouth and eyes" with ritual instruments, the ntr-ty (adze), pss-kf, or wr-hk₃w, and censuring and the presentation of offerings.²⁵

These rites may have been performed on the actual mummy or mummiform statue of the deceased prior to entombment. During the New Kingdom, such rites are depicted in the deep hall of the tomb in conjunction with the funeral banquet. It is significant that episodes of the book of the "Opening of the Mouth" are located in room V, a room which is situated along the route of the funeral procession, which carried the sarcophagus and burial furniture. The successive cult chambers (VI - IX) lead to room XI, which was possibly a cenotaph.²⁶ The purpose of these rituals is to endow the deceased with faculties necessary for existence in the Netherworld. The slaughter of the steer and antelope (fig. 158) are equated by Dümichen to the victory of Horus over Seth - i.e. good over evil, or light over darkness, concepts expressed in chapter 134 of the Book of the Dead.²⁷

Cult rooms VI, VII, and VIII have double stairways flanking a central ramp, designed to allow the dragging of

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a coffin. Although the true burial apartments are approached by means of a corridor branching to the south from room V, Von Bissing has surmised that room XI was designed as a cenotaph, and might also have been intended to receive a coffin.²⁸ The walls of rooms VI - VIII are now heavily encrusted with salt. Von Bissing briefly describes scenes of the deceased kneeling before a false-door (room IX) and before Isis, Anubis, and other divinities.²⁹

The north wall of room IX, which marks the culmination of this series of cult chambers, depicts the "Weighing of the Heart," the scene of Judgment from Chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead. The scene is unpublished, but it is described by Von Bissing, and details may be compared to a Ptolemaic papyrus which is now in the Oriental Institute Museum in Chicago (fig. 159).³⁰ At the right, Ma't stands behind the deceased with one hand holding him in a protective gesture. Her head is replaced with her insignia, the feather. Pedamenopet wears a long skirt and stands with arms upraised, as in the hieroglyph . A lector priest stands before scale, where the heart of the deceased is balanced against a diminutive figure of Ma't. As in traditional, the heart will testify for Pedamenopet. Horus and Anubis stand beneath the scale and Thoth is ready to inscribe verdict. The deceased will either be devoured by the

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monster Ammet or received by Osiris, who is enthroned within a shrine at the left of the scene. The "Weighing of the Heart" is a common scene in Theban tombs from the reign of Amenhotep III onward.³¹ It first appears on the walls of the deep hall of the tomb (nos. 69, 78) and during the Ramesside period when tomb scenes become more exclusively religious, it is found in the broad hall (51, 157, 341).³² The basic components of the scene remain unchanged, although details such as the head of Ma't replaced with a feather, do not appear until the late New Kingdom.³³

Mentuemhet

The cult chambers of Mentuemhet consist of complex series of rooms and stairways which rival the plan of Pedamenopet. Hall I is a "broad hall" transverse to the main axis and has two rows of six columns. Hall II has four side chapels opening along both the north and south walls. The westernmost chapels of the southern row have additional rooms and stairways which lead to secondary burial chambers. The westernmost chapel of the northern row (room III on plan) opens to room IV and stairways V, VII and IX which connect rooms VI, VIII and X. Rooms VI and X lie along the main east/west axis of the tomb and a shaft in room X leads to the antechamber of the burial apartments. Although most

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of the walls of these rooms and stairways were inscribed with scenes and texts, very little has been recorded due to the difficult access to these rooms.³⁴ J. Krall, writing in 1888, provides some details for a brief description of these rooms.³⁵ Titles of the deceased, his wife, mother, and father appear in rooms VII, VIII, IX and X. The south wall of room VIII shows Anubis and Ma'at leading Mentuemhet towards the interior of the tomb. In contrast to the depiction of this scene in the tomb of Pedamenopet, it is the Mehitwert-cow which is shown emerging from the mountain behind the figures. If, as in tomb no. 33, this scene is to be viewed in connection with the "Judgment of the Deceased," the Mehitwert-cow would be much more significant. As Bleeker notes, the cow is a "Primeval Goddess, appearing already in the pyramid texts, in which she is localized in the sky."³⁶ The "Judgement of the Deceased" is believed to take place in the abode of the Mehitwert-cow.³⁷ New Kingdom tombs include depictions of this cow, though in a different context (tombs 2B, 58, 218B, 265, 356).³⁷

A stela in staircase IX bears titles of the deceased, including mty n s3 "Controller of the (priestly) Phyles," which only appears on two of Mentuemhet's small statues.³⁸

On the east wall of stairway IX are scenes of butchers.

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A photographic detail reveals a carefully balanced composition and a high degree of artistic achievement in this interior room (fig.160). The vigorous, yet fluid posture of the butcher's assistant finds no parallel in preceding depictions of this theme (fig.161). The upper register of figure 160 shows a standing and three kneeling male figures, probably an episode from the offering ritual (see III, F, figs. 155 and 156).

The main cult room, room X, has a statue of Osiris set in a niche in the center of the west wall above the shaft (fig.162). The statue is carved from the bedrock within an architectural niche in the form of two pr-nw chapels linked by a flat vault. A standing statue of Osiris is found or indicated in the main cult place of the other Saite tombs, with the exception of Pedamenopet and Basa.³⁹ The statue of Osiris from the tomb of Mentuemhet and the west wall are badly eroded. On the opposite wall is a statue of Mentuemhet's father and predecessor in the office of "Mayor of the City," Nesptah I. Niches on the lateral (north and south) walls of the room contain kneeling and squatting statues.⁴⁰ The replacement of the statue of the deceased with a depiction of Osiris in the main cult place of the tomb first occurred at Thebes in the XIXth dynasty tomb of Tjoy (no. 23).⁴¹ This substitution may be tied to the growing tendency toward the representation of

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religious subject matter rather than worldly topics in tomb wall scenes, texts and statuary (Sacralization) which was prevalent during the late New Kingdom.⁴² The architect of the tomb of Mentuemeht used additional statuary to balance the composition of the room (two statue niches on the south wall opposite the doorway room IX and one niche on the north). The statue of Osiris is emphasized by its placement at the eye-level of the viewer, above a raised dais which is accessible by two stairways, and by its location at the culmination of the main axis of the tomb.

Mutirdis

The tomb of Mutirdis has no cult chambers. A doorway in the east wall of the sunken court leads directly to three rooms which may be identified by their depictions as part of the burial apartments. As mentioned previously, the tomb of Mutirdis was greatly hindered in development along its east/west axis by tombs from preceding eras. The sunken court abuts on the façade of the XIth dynasty Intef tombs, and as a result, the axis of the tomb bends to the east. Assmann points out that this omission indicates that the cult chambers were considered the least essential part of the plan.⁴³

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Basa

The main cult chamber of Basa is an uncolumned longitudinal hall, located to the west of the sunken court, and is the last inscribed room of the tomb. Side chambers open to the north and south, from the eastern portion of Hall I. The burial apartments are accessible from the southern side chamber. A central shrine, with torus molding and a cavetto cornice, is flanked by two false-doors and forms a symmetrical arrangement which entirely fills the west wall of Hall I (fig. 163). The shrine and false-doors were almost completely destroyed by intrusive burials. Fragments of titles and genealogical inscriptions indicate that the false-doors were dedicated to the deceased.⁴⁴ Assmann has remarked that the central shrine could have contained a statue of Osiris or have also been dedicated to Basa.⁴⁵ Other depictions in the room point to the latter interpretation.

The jambs of the east doorway are inscribed with an "Appeal to the Living" which was copied from Hall II of the tomb of Pedamenopet.⁴⁶ The text includes a request for funerary offerings and a warning that anyone who violates the mummy should not be buried in the West, and that his time upon earth should not be hrp "effective"⁴⁷ - warnings in the spirit of the Old Kingdom.

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Basa is shown seated in representations on the jambs of the doorways to the side chambers. These detailed depictions are very similar to the portraits of Mentuemhet from the doorways to the side chapels of the sunken court of tomb 34. Basa holds a staff and folded kerchief and wears a panther-skin and two-lobbed pendant, which is probably an insignia of office. Biographical details are omitted from depictions in rooms such as the vestibule, where emphasis was placed instead, on religious cycles. Spiritualization texts for the deceased appear above the north and south doorways.⁴⁸

The reliefs from the north and south walls are also very fragmentary. On the north wall, portions of the scenes were blocked out, but the details were left unfinished. The lowest register of both walls shows "offerings from the estates."⁴⁹ The upper registers of the south wall are destroyed. The north wall depicts the funeral procession and the "Voyage to Abydos."⁵⁰ The second register shows the carrying of funerary equipment and the dragging of a sledge with canopic chests. The voyage to and from Abydos appears in the fourth register (fig. 164). The return voyage is made in a papyrus boat similar to the nsmt bark of Osiris. One of the preserved details shows four falcon-headed rudders. The same ship is depicted in New Kingdom scenes,⁵¹ and on the north wall of the sunken court of

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Mentuemhet. In the upper register, offerings are presented to Anubis, recumbent on a shrine topped with a kheker frieze (fig. 165). The inscription reads, inpw im1-wt (nb) t3 (dsr) "Anubis im1-wt (name of Anubis fetish), Lord of the Necropolis."⁵² In another scene, slaughtered cattle are shown around a pool or court surrounded with sycamores (fig. 166). Both depictions appear in the XVIIIth dynasty tomb of Rekhmire⁵³ and the slaughtered cattle are shown in the court of Ibi.

It may be observed that the cult chamber of Basa lacks depictions which refer to the journey of the deceased through the Netherworld. The choice of repertoire may be due to the fact that only this room, the vestibule and portal alcove of the tomb bear inscriptions and scenes. Hall I contains many of the elements which were found in the initial rooms of other Saite tombs. The cult chamber of the tomb is dedicated to the funerary cult of the deceased and it is for this reason that the central niche was probably reserved for Basa, rather than Osiris.

Ibi

The cult chambers of Ibi consist of a deep hall with two rows of three columns and a small square shrine. Room I was originally a shallow broad hall which was enlarged, probably following Ibi's appointment as High Steward.

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At that time, the door to the burial apartments at the southern end of the west wall was blocked and a new door was cut in the north end. Loculi for later burials appear in the east wall. Very little of the wall scenes or texts have been preserved. A portion of two registers remain at the southern part of the east wall. In the first, a priest censes and libates to the deceased. The double scene above shows Isis and Nephthys, each followed by Anubis.⁵⁴

Pabasa

The cult rooms of Pabasa are very similar to those of his predecessor, ^{the} High Steward Ibi. The longitudinal hall in this example contained two rows of four pillars. A pilaster from the eastern part of the north wall shows offering bearers and a man leading a cow. The lintel of the doorway to the shrine depicts Pabasa before a god and goddess. The deceased appears on the lateral walls of the shrine and the Eastern and Western Goddesses stand before a mummiform god at the rear. Assmann reports that the texts from the shrines of both Ibi and Pabasa indicate that they originally contained statues of Osiris.⁵⁵

Pedihorresnet

Information on the repertoire from the cult chambers

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of Pedihorresnet is also quite sketchy. The Belgian Expedition has indicated that rooms I and II were inscribed with texts from the Book of the Dead.⁵⁶ A "Hymn to the Sun," from chapter 15 of the Book of the Dead, appears on the south thickness of the door to room I.⁵⁷ The shrine appended to room II, located along the main east/west axis of the tomb, is believed to have originally contained a statue of Osiris.⁵⁸

Sheshonq

There is no information on the cult chambers of Sheshonq.

In conclusion, the cult chambers of the Saite tombs provide passage between the sunken court and burial chambers, a function performed by the "deep" hall of New Kingdom tombs. As indicated by the absence of cult chambers in the tomb of Mutirdis, they were considered the least significant element of the plan and thematic repertoire. The majority of evidence may be derived from the tomb of Pedamenopet, where the cult chambers are divided into two segments by a change in axis and subject matter. The first series of cult rooms (I-III), is primarily dedicated to the funerary cult of the deceased and includes themes depicted in the initial rooms of other Saite tombs.

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The Netherworld is, however, represented by scenes from the Book of the Dead and offerings to gods who are important to the deceased in his afterlife - Osiris and Anubis. The second series of rooms (IV-IX) portrays the concepts of admission and change in the world beyond - the deceased is led inward by Anubis and Ma't and provided with faculties necessary for existence in the Netherworld (the book of the Opening of the Mouth). The focus of cult rooms IV-IX in the tomb of Pedamenopet is the Judgment of the deceased, the "Weighing of the Heart." The depiction of Osiris, enthroned within his shrine, supervising the scene, is perhaps a substitution for the cult statue of Osiris which is the focal point of the cult chambers in tombs 34, 36, 279 and 196.

The scant evidence for the repertoires of the smaller tombs appears to follow the programs (with the exception of Basa) of tombs 33 and 34: depictions of the gods of the Netherworld, representations from the Book of the Dead, and particularly, a central shrine dedicated to Osiris.

The Cult Chambers - Notes

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The Burial Apartments

In contrast to the other parts of the Saite tomb, the burial apartments incorporate many thematic elements which appear in the royal tombs of the New Kingdom. As in the preceding chapter, the tomb of Pedamenopet is the most complex and well-documented example and provides a major part of the evidence for this discussion. The following pages contain a description of the burial chambers from the tomb of Pedamenopet and other Saite tombs and comparison to precedents from royal and private funerary architecture. Figure 167 contains the plans of the Saite burial apartments.

Pedamenopet

The burial chambers of Pedamenopet are situated on three levels and the thematic repertoire will be described following corresponding divisions: level I (rooms XII-XVI), level II (XVII-XX), level III (XXI-XXII). The layout of the rooms may be partially explained as an attempt to provide greater security for the burial. Level II (rooms XVII-XX) is reached through a shaft which was concealed in the floor of room XII. The antechamber and burial chamber (rooms XXI-XXII) are accessible from a shaft which begins high in the north wall of room XIX. The multi-leveled plan also allows corridor XIII and chapels XIV-XVI to be situated directly above the sarcophagus chamber. The

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proximity of these rooms to the burial chamber is important, for they contain depictions which are critical for the deceased's survival in the Netherworld and may have been intended as a representation of the "Hall of Embalment."

Room XII of level I branches to the south from cult chamber V and leads to corridor XIII. This corridor surrounds a central massif, in the form of a sarcophagus. Three chapels (XIV-XVI) open to the north from corridor XIII. The central chapel (XV) is dedicated to Osiris H3m3g, "Osiris in the Embalmer's Hall,"¹ and serves as an indication that chapel XV, or the entire level 1, may have been intended as a representation of a place of embalmment. This topic will be discussed later and is preceded by a description of the lengthy scenes and texts on the exterior walls of corridor XII.

A large portion of the wall area from all three levels of the burial apartments is inscribed with texts and accompanying scenes which first appeared in New Kingdom royal tombs. The books of "Gates, Caverns, Aker, Night and Imi-Duat (What is in the Netherworld)" can be considered as original compositions, rather than collections of spells, such as the Book of the Dead, and so-called Pyramid or Coffin texts.² The main theme of these

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new texts is the continuous process of life-death-rebirth, as personified by two deities - Re', the living god who descends into death; and the dead god, Osiris, who ascends and comes to life again.³ The tomb of Pedamenopet is the first and only private tomb known to incorporate complete versions of these books, although they may also be present and unrecorded in the tomb of Mentuemhet. Only a few examples appear in other Late Period tombs. The XXth-XXIst dynasty tomb of Thonufer (no. 307) contains unfinished sketches of the "Book of Caverns."⁴ The burial chamber of the XXVth dynasty tomb of Ra'mose (no. 132) is inscribed with part of the "Book of the Day" and the "Book of the Night."⁵ The Saite tomb of Mutirdis incorporates several episodes of the "Book of Gates" and "Imi-Duat."⁶ Figure 168 shows the location of these books in the tomb of Pedamenopet.

The tomb of Ramesses VI is the only royal New Kingdom tomb to depict complete versions of several of these Books. For comparison to the tomb of Pedamenopet, figure 169 shows the arrangement of texts within the XXth dynasty tomb of Ramesses VI.⁷ The following pages contain a brief and very simplified description of these Books and their location in the tomb of Pedamenopet.

The Book of Gates

The "Book of Gates" is inscribed on the south wall of room XII and corridor XIII. A. Piankoff reports that the text is now badly damaged and fragmentary.⁸ There are only three complete versions of the "Book of Gates": on the sarcophagus of Seti I,⁹ the entrance corridor of the Osireion at Abydos (dating to the reign of Merneptah),¹⁰ and the south wall of rooms A-E in the tomb of Ramesses VI.¹¹ The oldest version is from the early XIXth dynasty tomb of king Horemheb.¹² The "Book of Gates" shares many elements with the "Book of Imi-Duat." In both compositions, the solar god travels in his bark through twelved divisions which correspond to the twelve hours of the night. In the "Book of Gates," Re' is accompanied by divinities which personify his attributes and the bark is towed by four inhabitants of the Netherworld (fig. 170). The serpent Nehen encircles the bark. To summarize the events: the bark enters the "Mountain of the West" and proceeds through twelve divisions, each marked with a pylon surmounted by a guardian serpent. The Hall of Osiris, where the dead are being judged, is depicted at the midpoint of the journey (fig. 171). This scene is represented between the gateway and the door of division V. As Piankoff notes, in the episodes from division V onward, the regeneration of Re' is accelerated.¹³ Re' overcomes forces of evil, such as Khety and Apophis. In the twelfth division, the solar bark which carries the newborn

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solar god, Khepri (in the form of a beetle), is lifted upward by Nun (the Abyss) to Nut (the sky) who stands on the head of Osiris (the Netherworld)(fig. 172). In this scene, another sun disk is shown passing through the bank of sand which represents the eastern horizon of heaven. Thus, as the new god is born, the cycle begins again. This book is also the first encountered upon entering the tomb of Ramesses VI and the Osireion.

The Book of Imi-Duat

Two complete versions of the "Book of Imi-Duat" are found in the tomb of Pedamenopet. The first example appears on the couter walls of corridor XIII: divisions I-IV on the west wall, V-VII on the north between the doorways to chapels XIV-XVI, VIII-XI on the east, and the final division, XII, on the east wall of the blind corridor which branches from the south-east corner of corridor XIII. The second example is inscribed on the four walls of the sarcophagus chamber (XXII).¹⁴ The first known example of this text appears in the XVIIIth dynasty tomb of Thutmosis I.¹⁵ Many portions of the text were reproduced in royal tombs of the XIXth and XXth dynasties. The only complete examples, however, are found in the tombs of Thutmosis III, Amenhotep II, and Pedamenopet.¹⁶

As in the "Book of Gates," the solar bark is depicted passing through twelve divisions corresponding to twelve

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hours of the night. In this text there are no gates, and each division is identified by a short inscription bearing the name of the hour. In the "Book of Imi-Duat" the solar bark and its crew assume a different form in almost every division. The major focus of this book is upon the formation and birth of the solar god in the form of the beetle, Khepri. In the first division, the beetle appears in the bark between two figures of Osiris and is preceded by three serpents, which indicate that "Khepri has been born into the lower region of the Netherworld(fig. 173)." ¹⁷ Plankoff notes that the most important depiction is found in division V (fig. 174) when:

"the larva of the god Sokaris comes out of the pupa imbedded in the oval-shaped pellet which rests upon the head of the two-headed god Aker. This is the moment the sun god, having passed into the realm of death, first returns to reawakening life. Above this representation, a beetle is depicted creeping out of a mound which symbolizes the night and at the same time the grave of Osiris." ¹⁸

The importance of this scene is emphasized by its placement in the tomb of Pedamenopet. It appears on the north wall of corridor XIII, flanking the entrance to the central chapel (XV).

Division XI of the "Book of Imi-Duat" from the tomb of Pedamenopet has been reproduced by Dümichen, ^(fig. 175) ¹⁹ and corresponds very closely to the same tableau from the tomb of Ramesses VI. ²⁰ The main elements of this division are the

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emergence of the solar god Atum (upper left) from the back of a winged serpent, and the destruction of the heads, souls, and shadows of the enemies of Osiris by fire-spitting goddesses under the direction of Horus. In the final division of the "Book of Imi-Duat," the sun god enters the tail of a serpent and is born in the form of Khepri from the serpent's mouth.

The Book of the Night

Portions of the "Book of the Night" are represented between divisions VI and VII of the "Book of Imi-Duat" on the north wall of corridor XIII of Pedamenopet (Hour 7) and on the north wall of the eastern extension of corridor XIII (Hour 8).²¹ This book was painted on the ceilings of many XIXth and XXth dynasty royal tombs²² and together with the "Book of the Day," represented the whole of the Egyptian cosmos.²³ The text of the "Book of the Night" describes the nocturnal journey of the sun god through the body of the sky goddess, Nut.²⁴

The Book of Aker

Although excerpts from this text appear in late New Kingdom tombs, the only complete version of this work is found in the tomb of Pedamenopet.²⁵ This text and its scenes are located on the east wall of the eastern extension of corridor XIII. The "Book of Aker" from the tomb of

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Pedamenopet is unpublished, but Piankoff describes some of the elements, including the double lion god which guarded the east and west gates of the Underworld:

"Here we meet the double lion god Aker, representing the East and West, with two solar barges towed by soul birds and human-headed cobras. Other figures depict the beetle symbol of new becoming emerging from the pellet, represented as the disk of the past. Interesting to note are the standing figures of gods with the disk passing through their bodies- by which they regain new life. Primal forms of the gods are portrayed here with human bodies and the heads of shrew-mice, symbolizing darkness and the past."²⁶

These texts may be generally viewed as guidebooks to the treacherous regions of the Netherworld. The deceased, equated with the solar god, descends into the Underworld and emerges reborn. During the Middle Kingdom, as outlined in texts such as the "Book of the Two Ways," it was believed to be the "soul" of the deceased which made this journey.²⁷ Pedamenopet chose to represent the complete versions of these texts, which are now considered the most significant literary achievements of the New Kingdom,²⁸ and had only been reproduced in full in several royal monuments, over four centuries prior to the construction of this tomb.

A major feature of level 1 of the burial apartments of Pedamenopet is the central massif, surrounded by corridor XIII, and designed in the form of a sarcophagus. Alternating statue niches and false-doors are cut into all four sides, and two protective goddesses with outstretched wings and

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arms are carved on each of the four corners of the sarcophagus. With the exception of the southwest corner, these depictions have been destroyed, but were identified in 1843 as follows: northwest corner - Nut, Ma'at; southwest - Neith, Shentait; others - Isis and Nephthys, Selket and Hathor.²⁹ A simplified sketch of the massif was published by Dümichen in 1884 (fig.176).³⁰ The division of niches and false-doors around the exterior of the massif is not symmetrical (fig.177). The false-doors are wide, rectangular plain niches, flanked by two vertical recesses, the simplified pattern of the palace-façade motif, found on Egyptian sarcophagi from all periods (fig.178). Some of the false-doors retain inscriptions such as "the door of Sheshat," "the door of the granary," and "the door of the king."³¹ Von Bissing has attempted to compare these designations to plans of palaces, but the results are very inconclusive.³² The statue niches are carved within an architectural framework consisting of a flat vault upheld by four channeled columns (fig.179). The frame encloses one to three rectangular niches, which contain statues carved from the bedrock. The statues are largely destroyed, but the texts indicate that they included depictions of Ptah-Sokar, Horus, Osiris, mummiform gods, and several statues of Ptah.³³

The scene from the rear wall of the middle chapel to

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the north of corridor XIII is indicated by the plan as the central focus of the burial apartments of level I. This scene depicts Pedamenopet and his wife offering to Wsr Hm3g3, "Osiris Hemag."³⁴ This personification of Osiris, which is not represented in other Theban tombs, is listed among the names of Osiris in chapter 142 of the Book of the Dead,³⁵ and has been identified as "Osiris in the embalmer's Shop."³⁶ The interpretation is based upon the translation of the verb hm3g, "to wrap."³⁷ If the massive sarcophagus depicted in level 1 of the burial chambers is to be considered as resting in or adjacent to the "Hall of the Embalmer," the deities in niches and the goddesses at the corners of the massif would serve as protective guardians.

The interim period between death and revival was considered in Egyptian religion as one of great danger. R. Clark comments, "Just as the pieces of Osiris' body had been put together and his corpse watched by his sisters Isis and Nephthys, so priestesses personifying them play the role of mourners and protectors of the body during the funerary rituals."³⁸ The Underworld, as described by texts, was populated by demons who symbolized the forces of annihilation, which could threaten recreation in its early and critical stages.

The texts inscribed on the exterior walls of corridor

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XIII parallel the long process of embalmment or mummification which the body of the deceased was subjected to prior to entombment. If the interpretation of level 1 of the burial chambers of Pedamenopet as a depiction of the "Hall of Embalmment" is correct, it represents a unique and imaginative treatment of this theme.

Level II of the burial chambers is reached by a shaft which descends from room XII. The walls of rooms XVII - XIX are inscribed with the "Book of Caverns."

The Book of Caverns

This Book is the latest and least frequently encountered of the major religious texts which were first inscribed in the royal tombs of the New Kingdom.³⁹ Three complete versions of this book are known: on the east wall of the entrance passage of the Osireion,⁴⁰ the north wall of rooms A-E in the tomb of Ramesses VI,⁴¹ and in the tomb of Pedamenopet.⁴² The "Book of Caverns" is composed of a sequence of "tableux," representations grouped together in six divisions. The text describes the journey of the ram-headed solar deity through a succession of caves between sunset and sunrise. Although this book shares many qualities with the "Book of Gates" and the "Book of Imi-Duat," it places much greater emphasis on the concept of the Osirian resurrection and relates it specifically to the Afterlife of the individual tomb owner. Piankoff comments

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that the "Book of Caverns" probably derives many elements from the cycle of mysteries which was performed at Abydos.⁴³ Three extant registers of the first tableau from the tomb of Pedamenopet (fig.180) show the solar god leaving the region of the sun and entering the Underworld. He addresses serpents and deities which inhabit this region and is adored by figures in the third register. The text which accompanies this scene clearly describes the purpose of the descent of the sun god into the Netherworld:

"I enter into the land of the fair west to take care of Osiris, to greet those who are in him... I illuminate the darkness of the mysterious chamber for the Osiris N (Pedamenopet)."⁴⁴

The "Book of Caverns" in the tomb of Pedamenopet serves an appropriate introduction for the major scene which appears on the east wall of room XIX - the Resurrection of Osiris. This scene has not been published, but it has been described as closely following depictions of this theme from the Osireion at Abydos,⁴⁵ the tombs of Ramesses VI⁴⁶ and IX,⁴⁷ and the tomb of the XXII dynasty king, Sheshonq at Tanis.⁴⁸ The "Resurrection of Osiris" also appears twice in the Saite tomb of Mutirdis and will be discussed more fully in following pages. The importance of this scene is emphasized by its placement on the rear wall of the culmination of rooms in the tomb of Ramesses IX and Mutirdis, and preceding the burial chamber in the tomb of Pedamenopet.

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The third level of burial chambers in the tomb of Pedamenopet is reached by a shaft which was cut high into the north wall of chamber XIX. There is no information on depictions from the antechamber, room XXI. The walls of the sarcophagus chamber (XXII) are inscribed with two groups of texts. The complete "Book of Imi-Duat" appears on the upper parts of the walls: divisions I-IV on the west wall, VII-VIII on the north, XI-XII on the east, and V-VI on the south.⁴⁹ The orientation of the scenes follows the content, for the solar bark descends into the Netherworld at the western horizon (west wall) and is reborn at the east (east wall). This concordance is not followed in the royal tombs which contain the "Books of Imi-Duat."

The lower parts of the walls from room XXII are inscribed with texts from chapters 142, 147 and 148 from the Book of the Dead and alternate with statue niches.⁵⁰ There is little information on the niches, but according to the plan of Dümichen, seven square niches are cut into each of the lateral walls (east and west).⁵¹ Von Bissing reports that the niches contained deities.⁵² Architectural niches which are believed to have held portable statues of gods appear in sarcophagus chamber of the tomb of Mentuemhet and shrines containing guardian deities are painted on the lateral walls of the sarcophagus chamber of the tomb of

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Mutirdis. The shrines with protective "guardians" or deities from these three Saite burial chambers and, perhaps, corridor XIII of Pedamenopet, may be related to traditions evidenced in the royal tombs of the New Kingdom. A papyrus in the Turin Museum reproduces the plan of the tomb of Ramesses IV and names its components (fig. 181).⁵³ The sarcophagus chamber is identified as:

"The House of Gold, wherein one rests...being provided with the equipment of his majesty on every side of it, together with the Divine Ennead which is in the Netherworld."⁵⁴

As E. Thomas points out, it is reasonable to suppose that this inscription was copied from plans of preceding royal tombs, such as that of Ramesses III, in which the sarcophagus chamber had lateral rooms for the storage of funerary equipment and portable shrines.⁵⁵ Many examples of such shrines were found in the "treasury" adjacent to the burial chamber in the tomb of Tutankhamun.⁵⁶ The Turin plan of the tomb of Ramesses IV designates the north and south recesses of corridor Z, which follows the sarcophagus chamber, as t3 st htp n n3 ntrw "the Resting Place of the Gods."⁵⁷ The recesses, located one meter above the level of the floor, were painted with representations of pr-nw shrines containing deities (fig. 182). Carter and Gardiner identified Thoth, Anubis, Khnum, Sobek and Buto among the twenty-four deities represented and remarked that the recesses must have

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originally served as "receptacles for painted shrines... containing figures of the gods in wood, faience, or precious metals."⁵⁸

The western half of the vaulted ceiling of Pedamenopet is carved with representations of the northern constellations and their governing deities (fig.183). The eastern half shows personifications of four planets (Mercury, Venus, Jupiter and Saturn) and a list of "decans," which originated as a means of dividing the night into hours (fig.184).⁵⁹ Similar astronomical ceilings are found in royal and private tombs of the XIXth and XXth dynasties, the cenotaph of Seti I, and temples (Seti I, the Ramesseum, and the Temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu).⁶⁰ The ceiling of Pedamenopet closely follows the first example known at Thebes, which appears in the unfinished tomb (no. 353) of Hatshepsut's High Steward, Sen(en)mut. Details from these ceilings have been carefully studied by O. Neugebauer and R. Parker and will not be repeated here.⁶¹

The elements of the sarcophagus chamber of Pedamenopet combine to portray the complete realm of the Egyptian Hereafter - the vault of the heavens, which was traversed daily by the solar god and the Netherworld (Book of Imi-Duat) - the realm of Osiris. In addition, protective deities were placed in the niches of the lateral walls to keep an eternal vigil over the coffin of the deceased,

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which must have originally been placed in the center of room XXII.

Mentuemhet

The burial apartments of Mentuemhet consist of an antechamber and sarcophagus chamber, reached by a shaft from cult room X. There is very little information available on the repertoire of these rooms. Assmann reports that four niches were cut into three of the walls of the burial chamber, which appeared as a "continuous suite of chapels" (fig.185).⁶² The niches are set within an architectural frame consisting of a flat vault upheld by two pairs of chaneled columns (fig.186). The central statue niche was surmounted by a kheker frieze. The same type of niche is found on the lateral walls of room X in the tomb of Mentuemhet. Nine black granite statues of deities which bear dedicatory inscriptions of Mentuemhet, are now located in widespread collections.⁶³ Although these statues are sometimes described as originating from the Saite chapels at Medinet Habu,⁶⁴ they may have come from the sarcophagus chamber of Mentuemhet. Several of these statues represent the same guardians which are painted on the walls of the burial chamber of Mutirdis.⁶⁵ An example from the Lowie Museum of the University of California shows two "sons of Horus," Amset, holding lizards, and Hapi,

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with a snake (fig. 187).

The vaulted astronomical ceiling of Mentuemhet is identical to that of Pedamenopet, although it is poorly preserved. The depictions, however, are reversed, most likely to allow for the different orientation of the two chambers. Figure 188 shows the southern half of the ceiling, which contains the decan list and representations of four planets. The figures of Seth shown at the bottom of the decans are mutilated, as in the ceiling of Pedamenopet.

Mutirdis

The four rooms which comprise the burial chambers of Mutirdis have been published by Assmann.⁶⁶ As in the tomb of Pedamenopet, the thematic repertoire contains elements from New Kingdom royal tombs and represents aspects of both the solar destiny and the Osirian resurrection. The plan of the burial apartments was restricted by the neighboring tomb of Basa. As a result, the rooms occupy a small and crowded area between the sunken court of Mutirdis and the subterranean rooms of the adjacent tomb. The depictions from room III of the burial chambers are repeated in the sarcophagus chamber. The poor quality of the scenes and the more conspicuous location of room III may have rendered it unsuitable as a burial chamber. Room IV is reached by means of a shaft leading downward

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from room III and may have been a later addition.

The wall scenes from room I are poorly preserved, as is its astronomical ceiling, which appears to have been similar to the ceilings of the burial chambers of Pedamenopet and Mentuemhet.⁶⁷ The north wall of hall I shows the final division of the "Book of Gates."⁶⁸ The same single episode appears on the east wall of the first room of the burial apartments in the tomb of Pabasa.⁶⁹ The east wall contains scenes of the Underworld, which Assmann reports, are not found in any of the known "books" of the New Kingdom.⁷⁰ The first scene shows a central hill supporting a mummy, which is adored by several figures and enclosed by two large arms, as in the fifth hour of the "Book of Imi-Duat." Remaining scenes are very fragmentary and show a sun-bark with falcon-headed rudders, ba birds with human heads, and another hill upholding a sun disk.

The west wall of hall I depicts the towing scene from the twelfth division of the "Book of Imi-Duat" and the third gateway from the "Book of Gates."⁷¹ Fragments from the first scene show the solar bark bearing the deity and attendants, towed by thirteen goddesses and twelve gods. The guardian of the gateway is identified as k^h.f ʿlwi.f n R^h, "He who bends(?) his arm before Re^h."⁷² The significance of the combination of these two scenes is difficult to determine. The main theme of the room, according to the

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final two scenes of both the "Book of Gates" and the "Book of Imi-Duat" is the rebirth of the solar god from the regions of the Underworld.

Room II is the only room of the burial chambers to represent topics which are not directly involved with the solar or Osirian destiny. The "Weighing of the Heart," the Judgment scene from chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead appears on the rear (east) wall.⁷³ Although Osiris is present in this scene, it is the character of the deceased, as represented by her heart, which is to determine her fate. The "Negative Confession" which appears on the west wall of this room, relates the events (although glorified) of her life and the qualities of her personality which are intended to render her worthy of acceptance into the Netherworld. Much of the weighing scene has been destroyed. The kiosk of Osiris is visible at the left and Thoth, Anubis and Horus surround the scale. Mutirdis, her son Inaros, and Ma'at appear at the right of the scene, entering the hall of Judgment. Assmann comments that the "Weighing of the Heart" is taken from the repertoire of New Kingdom private tombs.⁷⁴ The text of the "Negative Confession" does, however, appear in several royal tombs, for example, the tomb of Ramesses VI where it is found in the room preceding the burial chamber.⁷⁵

The treatment of the ceiling of room II also emphasizes the divergence from the themes of solar or Osirian resurrec-


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tion based on royal patterns. In contrast to the astronomical ceilings of the other three rooms of the burial apartments, the ceiling of room II is decorated with a floral pattern of papyri, lotus and rosettes.⁷⁶ Similar floral ceilings are found in Middle and New Kingdom private tombs.⁷⁷

Room III contains scenes and texts identical to those of room IV, the burial chamber. The walls of room III were roughly plastered and only a few areas of the painted scenes remain. Room IV was originally accessible through a shaft in the northwest corner of the room, but most of the floor of room III has now collapsed into the room below.

The walls of room IV were also plastered, but a finer blend of binding material provides a smooth wall surface for detailed scenes and inscriptions. A square cavity was cut into the southern area of the floor, presumably to hold the canopic jars. The rear (south) wall serves as the focus of the room, and of the four burial chambers. The scene is composed in two registers and depicts the "Resurrection of Osiris" (fig. 189).⁷⁸ Lost portions have been reconstructed by Assmann by means of comparison to similar scenes appearing in the Osireion (fig. 190),⁷⁹ the tombs of Ramesses VI (fig. 191)⁸⁰ and Ramesses IX.⁸¹ The scene is also carved in finely detailed sunk relief in the tomb of the XXIInd

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dynasty king, Sheshonq III at Tanis.⁸² As in these royal monuments, the scene is also placed in a prominent location in the tomb of Pedamenopet. The two registers of the composition are joined by a horizontal band representing a watercourse. The upper register is framed by the cosmic symbol of the sky  and insignia of the east (right) and west (left), upheld by lotus (heraldic for the south) and papyrus (for the north). Nile gods with pendulous breasts collect blossoms at either end of the watercourse. The symbols do not reflect the actual cardinal orientation of the scene, but rather the conventional placement of east and west, as right and left. Two boats occupy the central area of the upper register, their bows covered with mat-work constructions and topped with a small child with lotus blossoms or a sparrow between papyrus flowers. A winged sun disk appears over the scene and is identified as Bḥdty ntr "3 s3b šwt, "Behedety, the great god (with) the variegated feathers." The inscriptions 3ḥt ʿmmt "West Horizon" and 3ḥt ʿ3btt "East Horizon" are written above the left and right tips of the wings. The vertical text beneath the sun disk gives the title and name of Mutirdis. She is depicted in each bark, receiving ʿankhs from Atum (left) and Re'-Hōrakhty (right). Much of the inscription above the figures is cryptographic.⁸³ Four registers of

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gods appear on either side of the upper scene. They are identified at the left as (top register) "gods who follow Re' in the southern sky," (2) "Gods, Lords of the flame in the sky," (3) "Gods who accompany/follow Re' in the southern sky," and (4) "Gods who come out before the bark in the southern sky."⁸⁴ The equivalent gods from the northern sky appear at the right. The title "Protector of Mutirdis" appears before each individual god.

The composition of the lower register is similar, a wide central area, flanked by registers of deities, yet it lacks the cosmographic symbols of the upper register. Osiris lies (or is rising) on a leonine bed, beneath a shrine with a cornice surmounted by uraei and uprights bearing the serekh palace-façade motif, udjat eyes, and falcons. The hieroglyph rs ~~84~~ "to be wakeful/vigilant"⁸⁵ appears above Osiris and he is offered the 'ankh and w3s scepter by Horus. The name of Mutirdis is included in the cryptographic inscriptions above the shrine, but it is noticeably absent in the space between Horus and Osiris where royal cartouches appear in the other examples of this scene. It seems that Mutirdis did not adopt the royal prerogative of equivalence to the gods. The thirty-four gods which stand on either side of the bier are led by Isis and Nephthys, the sisters and primary mourners of Osiris,

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who maintained a vigil or "night watch" over the body, prior to his resurrection.

It should be noted that the entire scene has been reversed in the tomb of Mutirdis. This was perhaps done to allow the figure of Osiris to face west, as he does in the royal examples. The combination of scenes from the two registers of the south wall of room IV presents a clear depiction of the two concepts of the Egyptian afterlife - the solar destiny and the Osirian resurrection. The scenes depict a personalized representation of the afterlife of Mutirdis: she is to sail in the sun bark protected by the gods of the northern and southern sky, and, identified with Osiris, she is to be resurrected, and guarded throughout the process by thirty-six gods.

The lower parts of the east and west walls of room IV show fourteen pr-nw shrines containing guardian deities (fig. 192). Several of these gods correspond to the guardian statues which are believed to have been placed in the sarcophagus chamber of Mentuemhet.⁸⁶ The text on the east wall, above the chapels, is derived from Pyramid texts 104, 364, 412, and 677, and is identified by Assmann as a text which was intended to be recited over the funeral bier.⁸⁷ Spiritualization texts for the revivification of the deceased in the context of the "night watch" of the

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embalming hall, appear on the west wall.⁸⁸

The ceiling of room IV is painted with two symmetrical (back to back) figures of Nut, the sky goddess.⁸⁹ Similar representations appear in the Osireion⁹⁰ and the tombs of Ramesses IV and VI,⁹¹ but not in any private tombs. The duplicate figures represent the visible (the path of the sun by day) and invisible (the path of the sun through the Underworld) parts of the "heavens."⁹² As in the royal examples, the ceiling of room IV is inscribed with the "Book of the Day" and the "Book of the Night."⁹³

The repertoire of this small (3 x 3.3m) burial chamber, along with the other three rooms of her burial apartments, represents an abbreviated version of the topics presented in the extensive tomb of Pedamenopet. The choice and placement of themes indicates a sophisticated understanding of the subject matter, which rivals that of the royal New Kingdom tombs. In addition, the refined style of execution and careful attention to details shown in the Resurrection scene from the tomb of Mutirdis, surpass several of the royal examples (compare figs. 193 and 194 to fig. 191).

There is little information on the burial chambers of the other Saite tombs. Kuhlmann and Schenkel have reported a few details on the sarcophagus chamber of Ibi, and stone sarcophagi belonging to Ibi and Pabasa provide some

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additional information.

Ibi

As noted in a preceding chapter, the sarcophagus chamber of Ibi is located directly below the major offering scene which appears on the west wall of the sunken court. The rear wall of the chamber depicts the "birth of the sun child."⁹⁴ The north wall contains a "sun litany" and the south an "as yet, unclassified text which mentions Apophis and the sun god."⁹⁵ The eastern ends of the north and south walls are inscribed with chapter 161 of the Book of the Dead. This spell may be considered as a "spiritualization" for the deceased in the context of Osiris' victory over Apophis (in the form of a turtle).⁹⁶ An astronomical ceiling of the type first seen in the XVIIIth dynasty tomb of Sen(en)mut, and later in the tombs of Pedemenopet, Mentuemhet, and Mutirdis, is painted on the vaulted roof (fig. 195). The lid of Ibi's sarcophagus was recovered from the tomb and is now in the Turin museum.⁹⁷ The depiction of the deceased is more delicately proportioned than seen in the majority of Late Period stone sarcophagi and shows the unusual detail of Ibi holding a djed scepter (fig. 196). The inscription gives the name and titles of the deceased and a short hymn to Nut. Four registers inscribed on the body of the coffin depict standing

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deities, including the four sons of Horus, Isis, Nephthys, Geb and Neith.

Pabasa

The sarcophagus of Pabasa is inscribed with the same chapter 161 of the Book of the Dead which is found in the burial chamber of Ibi. Buhl comments that this text does not appear on any of the other Late Period stone sarcophagi.⁹⁸ In contrast to the coffin of Ibi, this example shows the broad body and proportionally large head which are characteristic of Late Period sarcophagi (fig. 196). The coffin is atypical, however, for the head is raised from the chest and the knees are depicted pressing against the lid.⁹⁹ Assmann reports that the twelfth division of the "Book of Gates" appears on the east wall of the first room of the burial apartments of Pabasa,¹⁰⁰ an indication that other texts from the New Kingdom royal "books" are also present in this tomb.

To summarize, the burial chambers of the Saite tombs depict the complete realm of the Egyptian Hereafter. This includes both the Underworld, the hidden and mysterious region into which the solar bark descends at night, and the Heavens, which are traversed by the solar god during the hours of the day. As represented in the scene from the south wall of the burial chamber of Mutirdis, the deceased

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is to accompany the sun god on this voyage and will also experience a daily "rebirth" and eternal life. The Netherworld is also the realm of the dead god, Osiris. The deceased is to be identified with Osiris who is resurrected or "reawakened" by Horus, as depicted in the scene of the "Resurrection of Osiris," and in the "Books," particularly the "Book of Caverns." A third means of attaining eternal life is represented by the Judgment scene, the "Weighing of the Heart," which was the primary concept of salvation depicted in the tombs of private citizens during the New Kingdom.

The lengthy "Books of Gates, Caverns, Imi-Duat, the Night, and Aker" were adopted by the Saïtes from royal tombs as a means of illustrating the concepts of the solar destiny and Osirian resurrection, providing information to the deceased for the negotiation of the dangerous regions of the Netherworld, and to control its destructive elements by means of more powerful forces, such as the "guardians" of the "Book of Gates." The placement of the divisions of the "Book of Imi-Duat" in the tomb of Pedamenopet with regard to content, serves as evidence that these texts were not just copied as decorative additions to the tomb. The depiction of Osiris "Hemag" in chapel XV of the tomb of Pedamenopet indicates that this room and perhaps all of level 1 of the burial apartments were intended as a

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representation of the "Hall of Embalming." The configuration of level 1, with its central massif bearing false-doors and niches containing guardian deities is a unique element in Egyptian funerary architecture. The theme of the "Night Watch" of the body of the deceased by guardian deities is also continued in the sarcophagus chambers of Pedamenopet, Mentuemhet, and Mutirdis, and may have been adopted from royal tombs. The burial chambers of the Saite tombs, as represented by the extensive plan and repertoire from the tomb of Pedamenopet, and the rich, yet abbreviated version in the tomb of Mutirdis, serve as an example of the calculated and sophisticated virtuosity of the Saite architects and artists.

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Conclusion - Part III

The Religious Symbolism of the Thematic Repertoire of the Saite Tomb

The Egyptian tomb is primarily a functional structure. As the pr n nh "house of eternity." it serves as the final resting place for the body and soul of the deceased. But, according to religious belief, the tomb owner must also be furnished with necessary sustenance within the tomb and imbued with the faculties essential for participation in the dual concepts of the Egyptian Hereafter: the solar destiny, to "go forth" daily with the sun god in his bark, and to be resurrected, as was Osiris. The rich thematic repertoire of the tomb was designed as a magical means of fulfilling these needs. The symbolism employed in the tomb operates on many levels - from that of the entire tomb and its major thematic areas, down to individual components: hieroglyphs, insignia, so-called "decorative" elements such as friezes of uraei or kheker, or color symbolism, such as the green face of Osiris denoting his "regeneration" in the scene of his resurrection from the tomb of Mutirdis. Many of these elements have been mentioned in preceding chapters. The following pages contain a summary of some of the major areas of the tomb and their symbolic associations, as revealed by the thematic repertoire. Some of these areas correspond to parts

of the New Kingdom royal tomb which have been identified by name on documents such as the Turin papyrus, which shows an ancient plan of the tomb of Ramesses IV. The depictions and symbolic connotations of the initial rooms of the Saite tombs also correspond to those of the "broad" and "deep" halls of the New Kingdom private tomb.

Egyptian texts identify the pylon as the "Luminous Mountain Horizon of Heaven," the place of appearance of the solar god. In accordance, the pylon of Mutirdis depicts her worship of the morning sun, and is inscribed with a text which expresses her joy at greeting the morning sun. The towers of the pylon are also traditionally identified with Isis and Nephthys, the two sisters of Osiris, who watched over his body and thus, the pylon may be considered as a bastion against the hostile forces which might threaten the tomb owner.

The upper entrance stairway of the Saite tomb lacks scenes or inscriptions, but may be compared to the "Passage of the Way of Shu," of the New Kingdom royal tomb. This unroofed corridor leads downward to the subterranean rooms of the royal tomb and is similar to the "open-air" stairways of the Saite tombs of Pabasa and Ibi. Shu, the god of atmosphere and "respiration" is noted for his regenerative qualities which would be beneficial to the deceased. The "Passage of Re^f," the first corridor of the royal tomb,

was the only inner room which could be penetrated by rays of sunlight. This room was inscribed with solar hymns, and is paralleled by the scenes and inscriptions in the enclosed stairways of the Saite tombs of Mutirdis and Ibi.

The lobby and vestibule of the Saite tomb serve as the place of actual and symbolic contact between the deceased and the outside world. These rooms find no equivalent in the royal tombs, for such activities took place in the separate mortuary temple.

The lobby and vestibule serve as reception rooms for the visitor to the tomb and contain elements such as the "Appeal to the Living," statue niches honoring the benefactors of the tomb (Ibi), and biographical representations and texts of the deceased. The "broad" hall served as the reception area of the private New Kingdom tomb. The depiction of the king in his "baldachine," found in a prominent location in XVIIIth dynasty tombs, is the equivalent of the statue niches of the Saite tomb. In addition, the lobby and vestibule of the Saite tomb represent the theme of transition into the Netherworld - depictions of the funeral, "spiritualizations" for the benefit of the deceased, and statues of the gods of the Netherworld welcoming the tomb owner (Hathor cow of Basa). The concept of the deceased entering the realm and presence of the gods is emphasized by their depiction within architectural

niches representing shrines.

The double scene of the deceased adoring Re' or Re'-Horakhty and Osiris on the lintel of the doorway from the vestibule to the court (Mentuemhet, Ibi, Pabasa) defines the symbolic boundary between the world of Re' (or Re'-Horakhty) and that of Osiris, the Netherworld. This interpretation is reinforced in the tomb of Mutirdis, where double representations of the guardians of the gates of the Netherworld meet her coming down the stairs and face outward in the court, to guard her as she "goes forth" from the interior of the tomb. The court is also the site of the dedication of funerary offerings, both symbolic and actual, an essential aspect of the funerary service, which was represented in the Egyptian tomb from the Old Kingdom onward. Continuous sustenance was assured by means of depictions of offerings, offering lists, and the offering ritual. The portal alcove of the court is a symbolic representation of the Old Kingdom offering room.

The cult rooms of the Saite tomb represent the first stages of descent into the Underworld. Scenes depict the deceased led inward by Anubis and Ma't and introduction to the gods of the Netherworld. Episodes from the "Book of the Opening of the Mouth" (Pedamenopet) were intended to provide the deceased with faculties necessary for survival in the Netherworld. These rites were probably performed on

the mummy or statue of the deceased prior to interment, and are represented in this tomb in a room which is located along the route of the funeral procession. These depictions are found in the "deep" hall of some of the New Kingdom private tombs. The "Hall of Osiris" or place of judgement of the deceased is depicted in cult room IX in the tomb of Pedamenopet and between burial chambers I and III in the tomb of Mutirdis. The main cult rooms of the other Saite tombs (except Basa) contained statues of Osiris and are probably also to be considered as representations of the "Hall of Osiris."

The entire realm of the Egyptian Netherworld is represented in the burial chambers of the Saite tombs. The Heavens, the region of the solar destiny, where the deceased was to make the daily journey with Re' in his solar bark, is represented by vaulted astronomical ceilings, inscribed with constellation maps, the personification of planets, and decan lists. The Underworld, the region into which the deceased would descend to emerge "reborn," is depicted by a series of "Books of the Underworld," adopted by the Saites from the royal tombs of the New Kingdom. The entrance of the deceased into the Underworld is described in the "Book of Gates" in the tomb of Pedamenopet, where it is located in the first corridor of the burial chambers. The "Book of Imi-Duat" describes the descent

of the solar god into the regions of the Underworld and its rebirth at the eastern horizon, paralleling the resurrection of the deceased. The final episode of this text is represented in burial chamber I in the tomb of Mutirdis and two complete versions are found in corridor XIII and the sarcophagus chamber of the tomb of Pedamenopet. The tomb of Pedamenopet also contains the only complete version of the "Book of Aker," which describes the east and west gates of the Netherworld. Level II of the burial chambers of Pedamenopet's tomb depicts the "Book of Caverns," a description of the "dark and unknown" regions of the Underworld. The content of the text corresponds to the physical descent into these rooms, which are accessible by means of a shaft. The "Book of Caverns," located in a room near the burial chamber, places a more personalized emphasis on the resurrection of the tomb owner.

In addition to the symbolic representation of the Netherworld, the burial chambers of Pedamenopet depict a unique and original element - a massive sarcophagus, with guardians in statue niches and protective goddesses at its corners. Similar goddesses, sculpted in high relief, are found on the corners of the stone sarcophagus which held the three mummiform coffins of Tutankhamun. In the tomb of Pedamenopet, the nearby chapel of Osiris Hemag indicates that this representation of a sarcophagus may be interpreted

as lying in or adjacent to the "Hall of the Embalmer."

The dual concepts of the Egyptian Afterlife are clearly represented in a scene located at the focal point of the burial chambers of the tomb of Mutirdis. In the upper register of this scene, Mutirdis stands with two forms of the solar god in his bark, and below, Osiris is "reawakened" from his funeral bier by his son, Horus.

The thematic repertoire of the Saite tombs, placed within the layout of the tomb plan, provides a very rich and complex means of fulfilling the spiritual needs of the deceased. The choice of subject matter and calculated placement of scenes and texts in the Saite tombs reveals a continued understanding of religious symbolism, for which the Saite tomb builders are seldom credited.

Conclusion

As stated in the introduction to this paper, the purpose of this study was to develop a typology of the architectural forms and programs of wall scenes and inscriptions appearing in the Saite tombs and to trace their sources. As discussed in preceding chapters, the basic characteristics of the Saite tombs are:

Massive mudbrick superstructure with pylon gateway

Enclosure walls of the superstructure articulated with a complex pattern of recessed panelling

Dual entrances to the super- and substructure

Dramatic usage of the sunken court, integrated into the tomb plan and preceded by a lobby and vestibule

Side chapels appended to the sunken court and cult chambers for the secondary burials of retainers and family members

Variety of usage and integration of architectural statuary into tomb plan

Multi-leveled primary burial chambers designed with consideration to the security of the burial

Tripartite division of the tomb plan which corresponds to examples from domestic architecture

A well-developed repertoire of scenes and inscriptions based upon three themes: "Going Forth," "Transition," and the "Netherworld."

The majority of the individual elements employed in both the architectural design and thematic repertoire of the Saite tombs may be traced to models which are located at Thebes within a radius of a few kilometers: the private tombs of the Middle and New Kingdom nobels, the nearby

mortuary temples, such as that of Hatshepsut, a very dominant landmark in this area, and the New Kingdom royal tombs of "Biban el-Moluk." The Saite tombs also incorporate aspects of the plan and thematic repertoire of the XIXth dynasty "Osireion" or cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos.

The evolution of Egyptian culture was seldom punctuated by dramatic change or the introduction of new features. Change is, instead, measured by the choice of elements from a proven repertoire, and distinguished by the frequency, proportion, and interrelationship of these features. The basic characteristics of the Saite tombs, drawn from examples of funerary, mortuary, and domestic architecture, combine with the massive size and complexity of the tombs, to contribute to their designation as "Grabpalästen."

The apparent differences between these eight examples of the Saite tombs may be attributed to the variance of their overall scale and means of the tomb owners (the huge tombs of Pedamenopet and Mentuemhet vs. later examples), restrictions imposed by limited building space (Mutirdis and Basa), and the availability of information for this study (Pedihorresnet, Sheshonq). However, outside the context of the basic typological framework, each tomb emerges with a character of its own. For example, the tomb of Pedamenopet places particular emphasis on the complex symbolism and repertoire of the burial apartments, borrowing compositions from the royal tombs of the New Kingdom,

which by modern standards, are valued as the most advanced compendia of Egyptian religion. The burial apartments of Pedamenopet also include a unique and original treatment of a central massif designed as a sarcophagus, located directly above the burial chamber. The elaborate sunken court, with its complex arrangement of side-chapels alternating with panels of heraldic pairs of papyri, life-size statues of the deceased, and graceful western portico with papyriform columns, is the most innovative feature in the tomb of Mentuemhet. The smaller tombs of Mutirdis and Basa display a complexity of repertoire, attention to detail and highly calculated interplay of architectonic and thematic elements (vestibule of Basa) which is unparalleled in the other tombs.

The variation of the style and execution of the wall scenes also reflects the individualized character of the Saite tombs, and even varies greatly within a single tomb. A very ornate and detailed style of relief is employed in scenes from the initial rooms of the tombs of Ibi and Pabasa (fig. 113). This elaboration of detail could be interpreted as a reflection of the desire of the tomb owner to impress the visitor to the tomb, as it appears only in rooms which were accessible and in scenes with biographical content. In contrast, a sketchy, abbreviated style is employed in the reliefs of the courts and cult rooms of the

tombs of Ibi and Pabasa.

The few examples of scenes from the Saite tombs which are known to have been copied from other sources provide an indication of the Saite artist's approach to style and composition. The scenes of butchers from Chapel C of the court of Mentuemhet, which were copied from the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, illustrate the artist's flexibility in the adaption of a series of episodes to a new format - while, at the same time, retaining the important elements of the scene and the elegant style of the royal model. The same characteristics are evident in the "Resurrection of Osiris," from the tomb of Mutirdis, which was also adapted from royal tombs. The agricultural scenes from the court of Mentuemhet, copied from the New Kingdom private tomb of Menna, reveal a formalization of the composition and details, which is accompanied by an attempt at greater realism in the depiction of the figures.

Other scenes from these tombs reveal the originality of the Saite artist. In another example from the tomb of Mentuemhet, from cult room IX, the vigorous, yet fluid posture of a butcher's assistant finds no parallel in preceding depictions of this theme. The scene of bee-keeping from the court of Pabasa is an original topic, as is the "Purification" of the deceased from the tomb of Mutirdis.

The Saite tombs have often been cited as evidencing

characteristics of an "archaic revival" which occurred during the XXVth and XXVIth dynasties. The term "archaic revival" is misleading, for it implies a renewed usage of models which were widely separated by time and poorly understood. The Saite tombs do reflect a renewal of tomb building activity at Thebes which followed a hiatus of approximately four hundred years, and an eclectic approach in their borrowing of elements, but as revealed in this study, the Saite tombs evidence a sophisticated and thorough understanding of their models and a refined, yet original approach to their execution. The Saite tomb owners, architects and artists chose to incorporate many elements in the thematic repertoire and architecture of the tombs which were based upon precedents employed at Thebes during its greatest period of political stability and artistic achievement - the New Kingdom. In turn, it must be remembered that these elements are based upon religious and artistic traditions which developed slowly and evidence a very strong continuity from the Old Kingdom onward in Egypt. In many ways, the tombs of these powerful local Saite officials represent the final flourishing of indigenous Egyptian culture which was to fade under the pressure of foreign domination following the Saite period.

<u>King</u>	<u>Reign</u>	<u>Divine Adoratrix</u>	<u>Tomb Owner/Kings</u>
<u>DYNASTY XXV NUBIAN</u>	<u>(KUSHITE) 751 to 656 B.C.</u>		<u>mentioned in tomb</u>
Kashta	? to 751	Shepenupet I	
Piye	751 to 716	Amenirdis (adopted 730; daughter of Kashta sister of Shabaka	Harwa (High Steward of Amenirdis; no king mentioned.
Shabaka	716 to 701	Amenirdis (continues)	<u>Akhamenru</u>
Shabataka	701 to 690	Amenirdis (continues)	<u>Pedamenopet</u>
Taharqa	690 to 664	Shepenupet II (daughter of Piye)	(consecrated as priest, 662-661)
			<u>Mentuemhet</u> ; kings - Taharqa, Tanutamun Psamtik I
Tanutamun	664 to 653	Shepenupet II (continues)	
<u>DYNASTY XXVI (SAITE) 664 to 525 B.C.</u>			
Psamtik I	664 to 610	Shepenupet II (continues)	
		Nitocris (daughter of Psamtik I; adopted as Divine Adoratrix, 656.	<u>Mutirdis</u> Psamtik I
			<u>Basa</u> Psamtik I
			<u>Ibi</u> Psamtik I (High Steward of Nitocris)
			<u>Pabasa</u> Psamtik I (High Steward of Nitocris)
Necho II	610 to 595	Nitocris (continues)	<u>Pedihorresnet</u>
Psamtik II	595 to 589	Nitocris (dies 584) Ankhnesneferibre (adopted 593; daughter of Psamtik II)	Necho II and Psamtik II (High Steward of Nitocris)
Apries	589 to 570	Ankhnesneferibre (continues)	<u>Sheshonk</u> (High Steward of Nitocris)
Amasis	570 to 526	Ankhnesneferibre	Ankhnesneferibre kings - Apries, Amasis, Psamtik III
Psamtik III	526 to 525	Ankhnesneferibre	

fig. 1

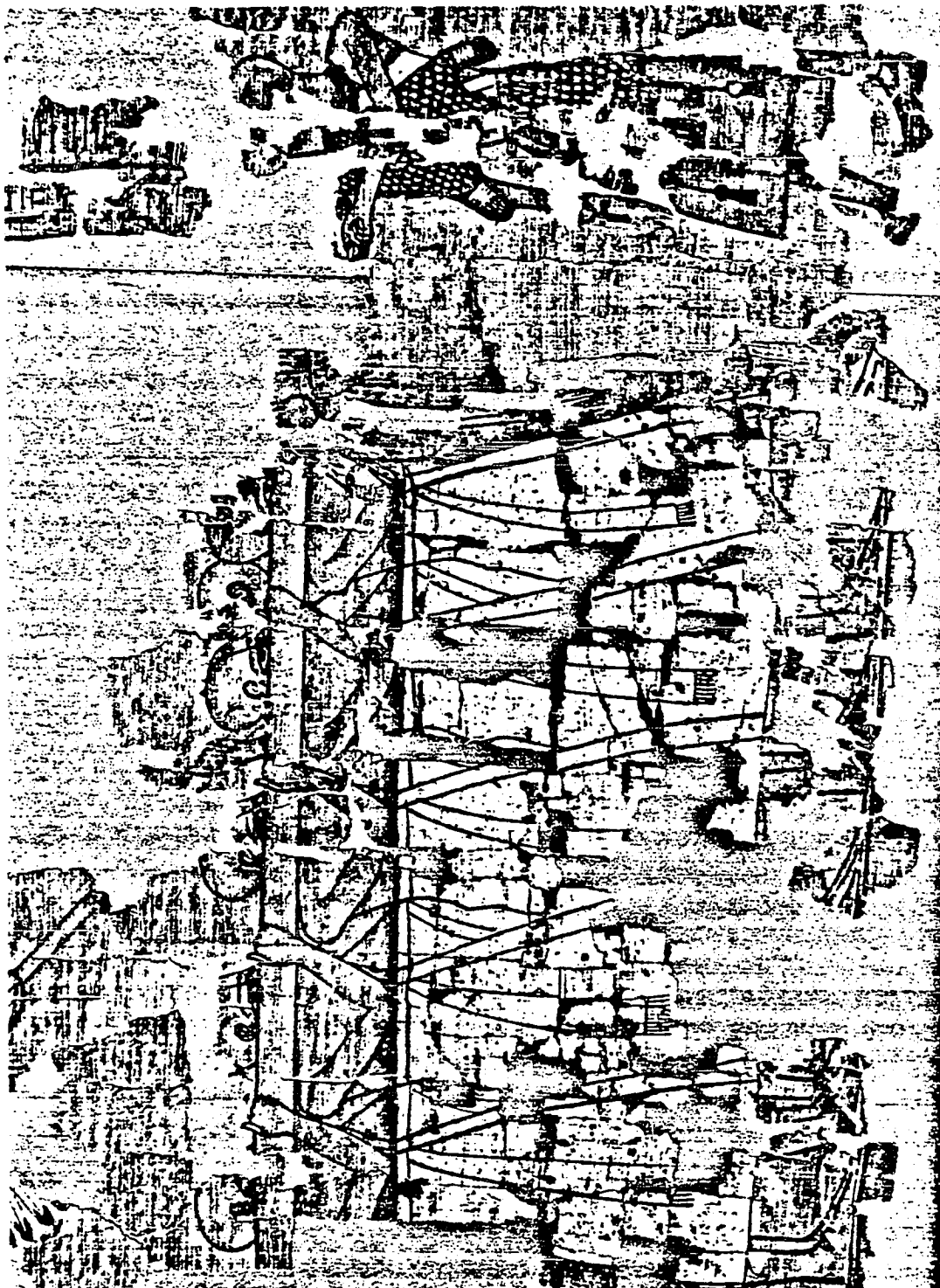


fig. 2

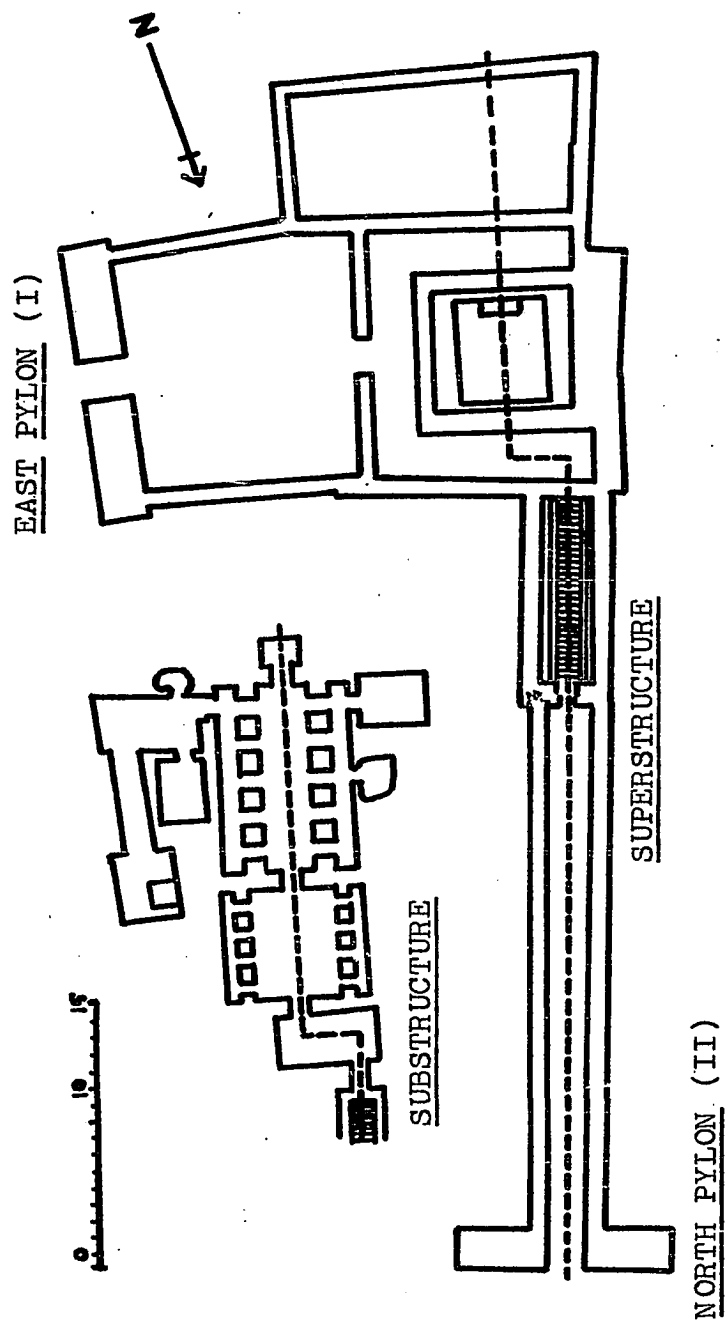


fig. 3

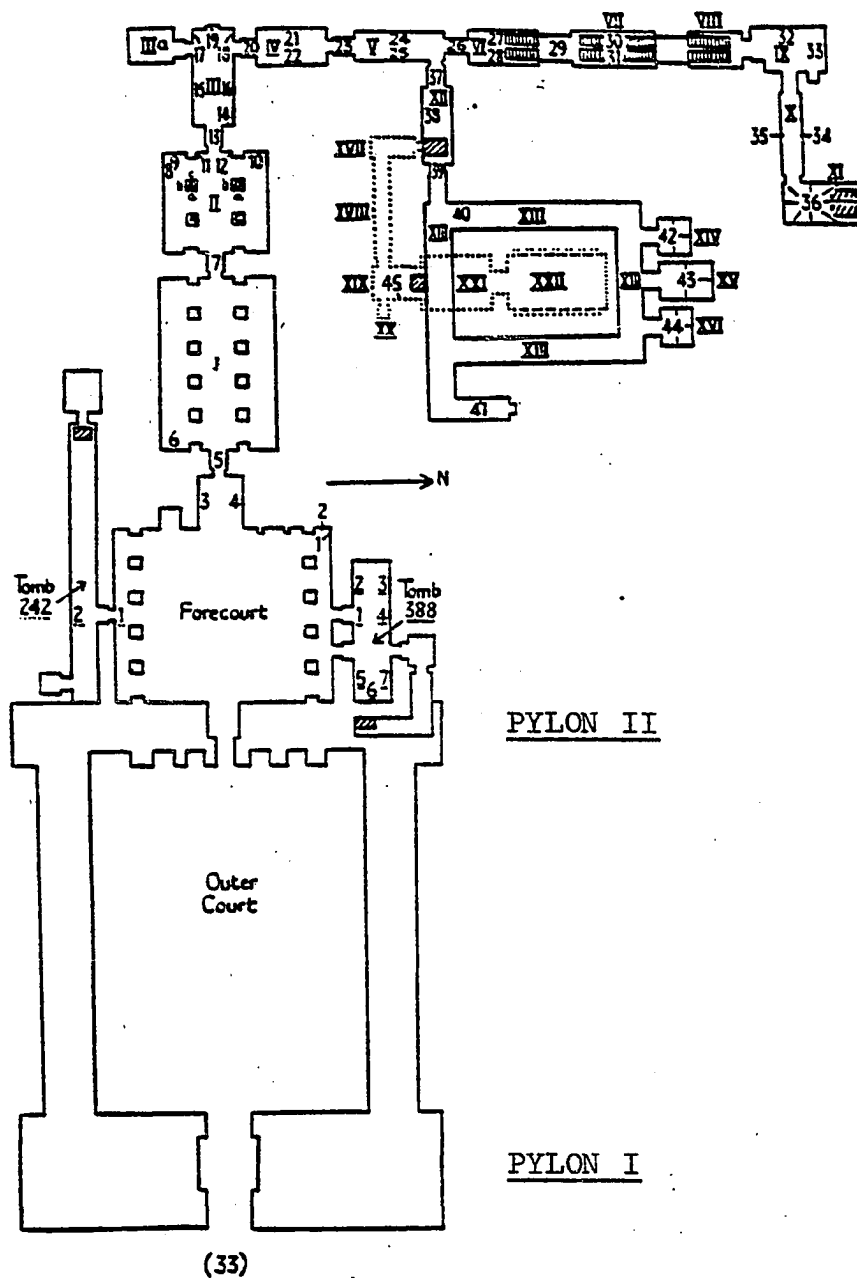


fig. 4

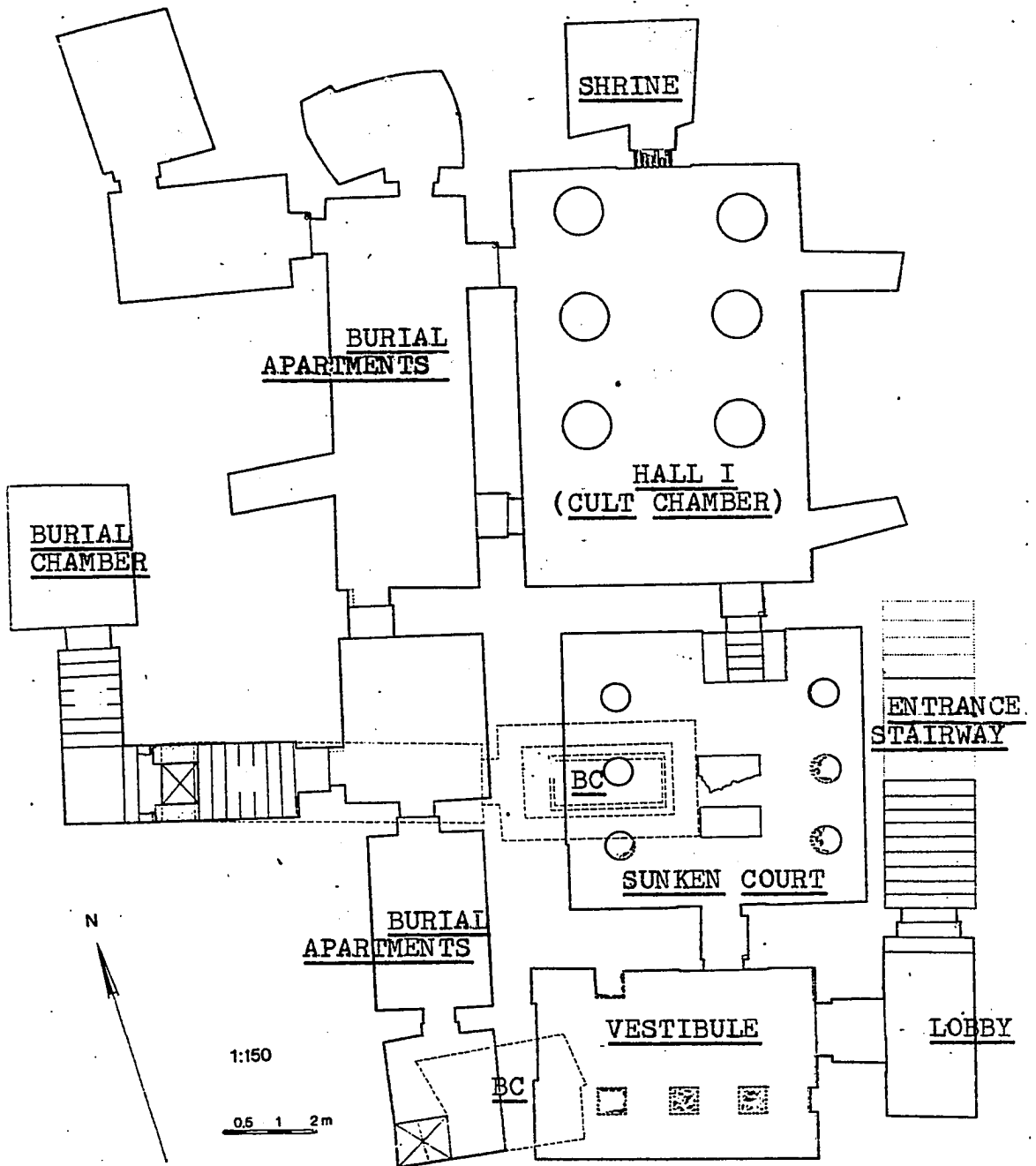


fig. 5

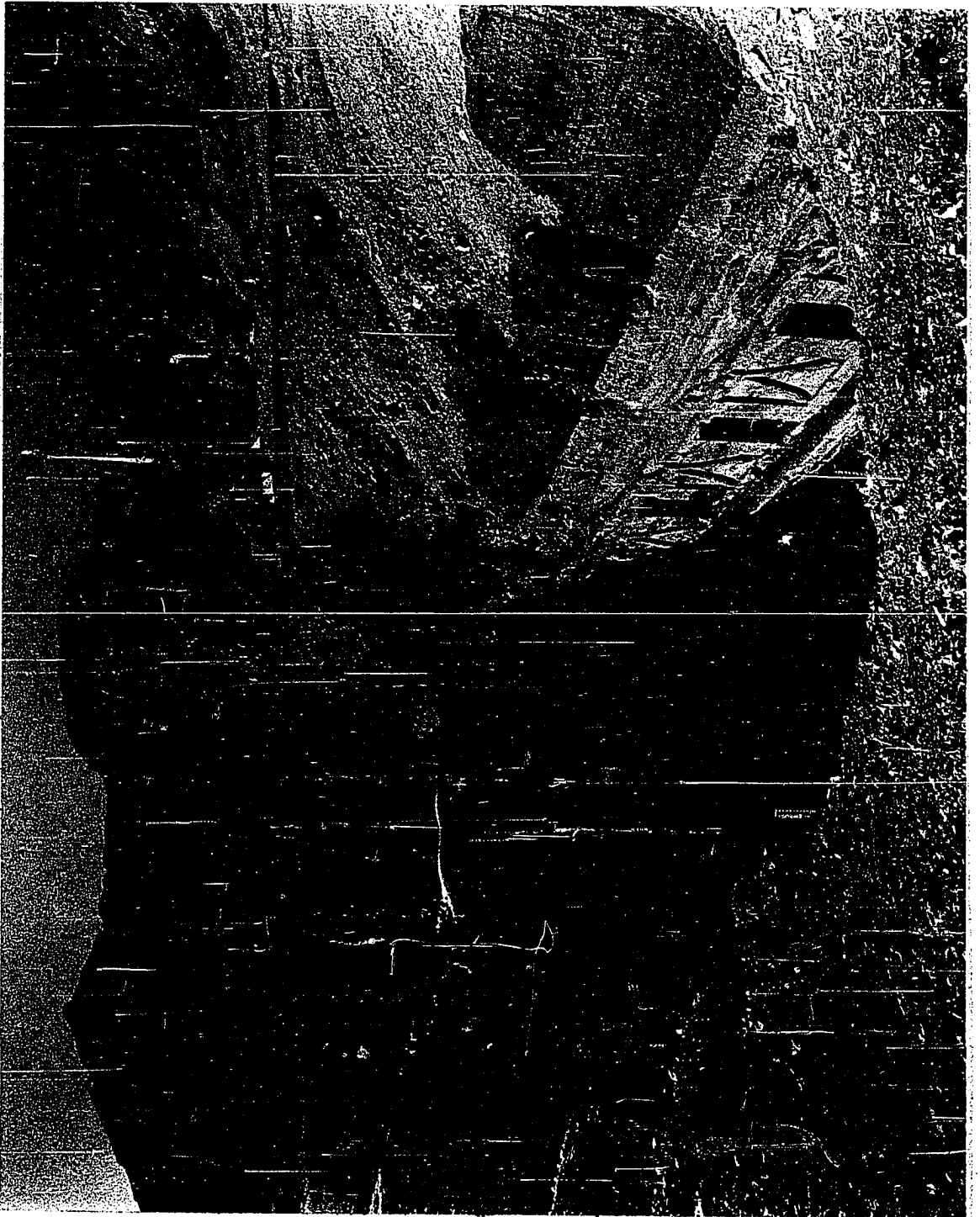


fig. 6

<u>Pylons</u>	East Pylon	Second East Pylon	North Pylon
Pedamenopet	38 x 10.5m	38.5 x 5.5m	-
Mentuemhet	33 x 5m	-	18 x 3m
Mutirdis	11.75 x 2m	12 x 1.6m	-
Basa	12.9 x 1.7m	13.2 x 1.6m	-
Ibi	9 x 1.7m	-	-
Pabasa	16.5 x 3m	-	12.5 x 2.5m
Pedihorresnet	18 x 2.8m	-	-
Sheshonq	17.2 x 3.1m	11 x 2m	12.2 x 2.2m

fig. 7

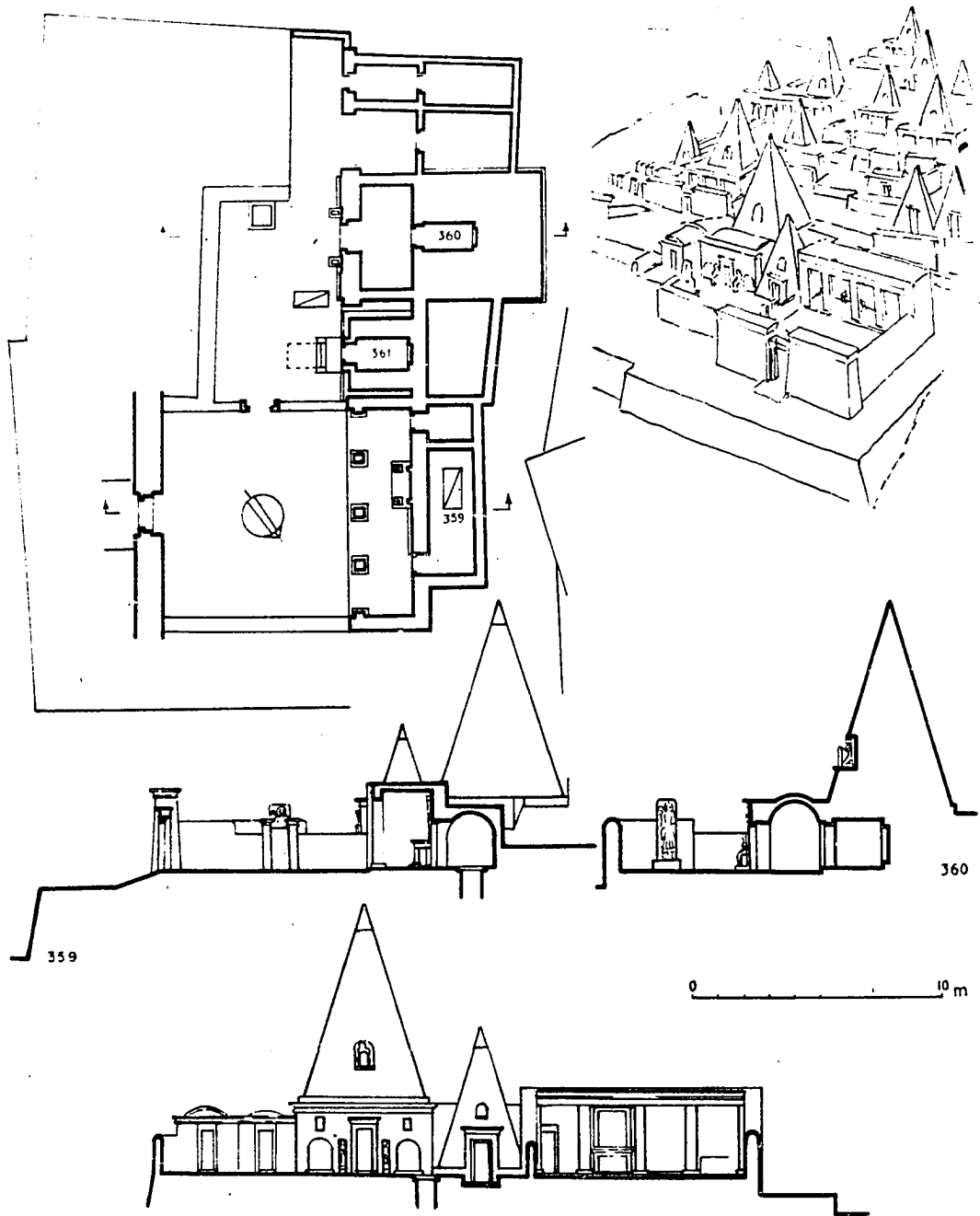


fig. 8

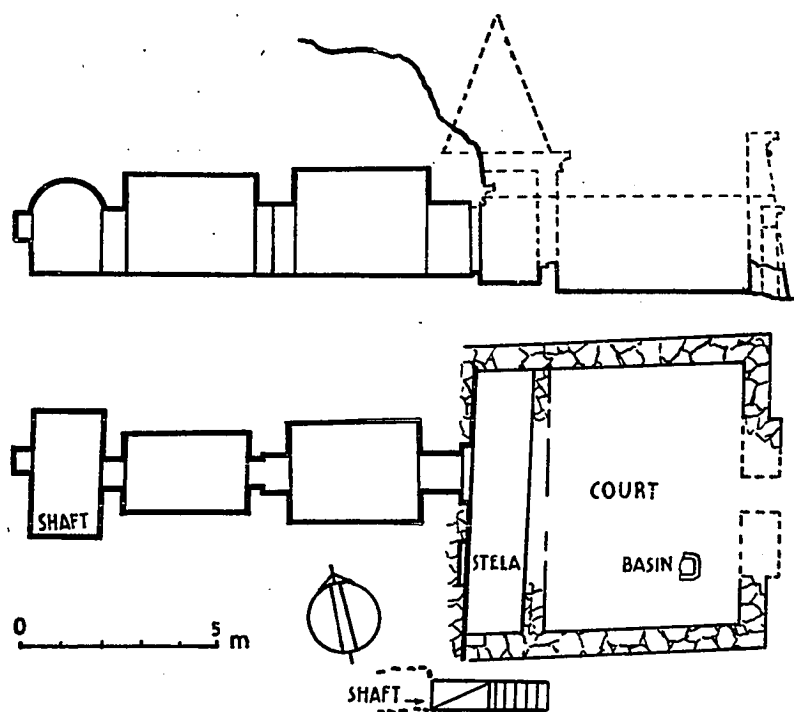


fig. 9

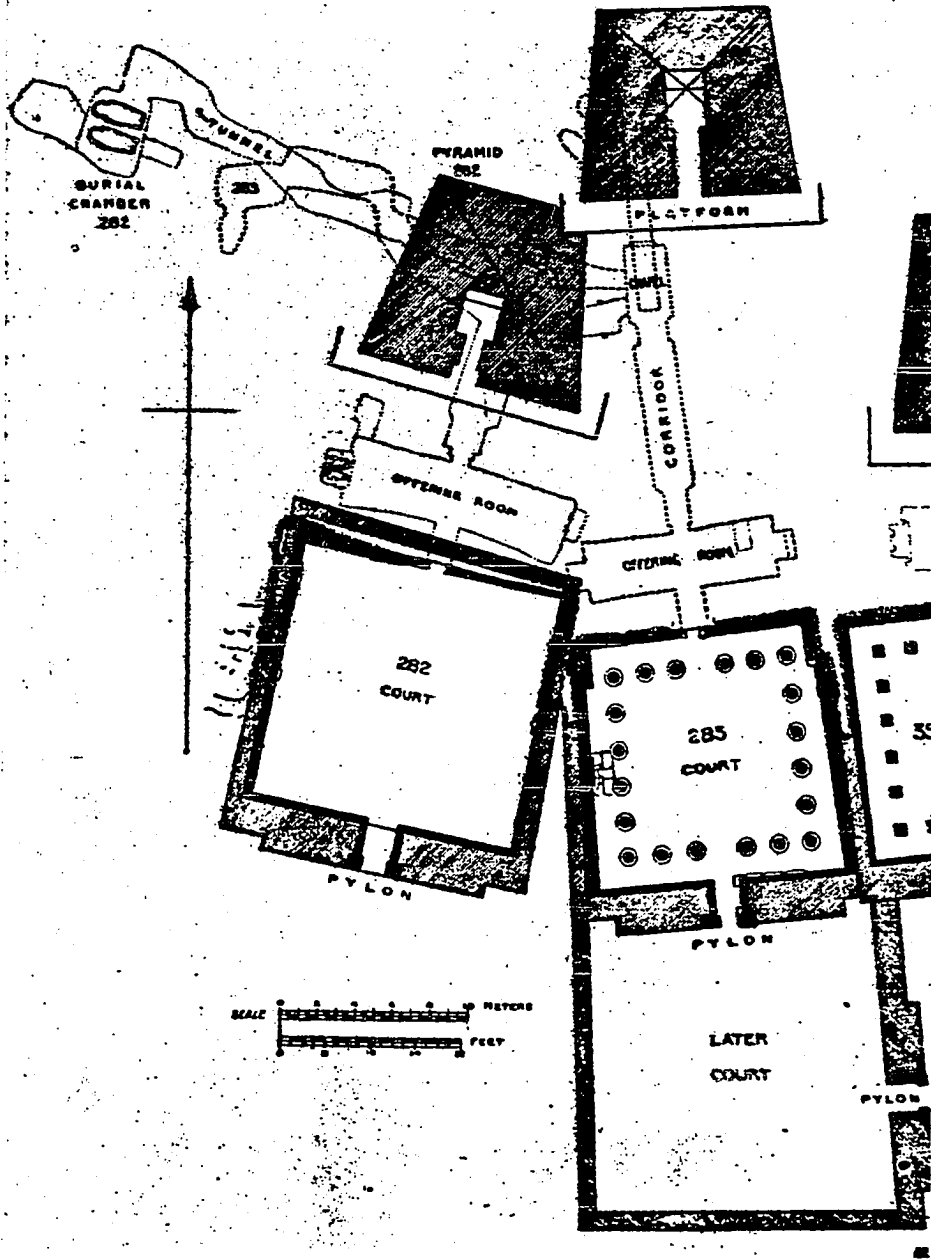


fig. 10

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART OF ARCHES IN EGYPTIAN ARCHITECTURE

	<u>TYPE</u>	<u>CONSTRUCTION</u>	<u>HEIGHT</u>	<u>SPAN</u>
<u>IIIrd Dyn.</u>				
Bet Khallaf K1	Semi-circular Arch	1 ring (headers) Regular brick	-	2m.
<u>IVth Dyn.</u>				
Nefri (Giza)	Semi-circular Arch	1 ring (transverse) Ribbed special brick	.96m	2.5m
Seneb (Giza)	Catenary Arch	1 ring (stretchers)	-	1.25m
<u>Middle Kingdom</u>				
El-Kab	Semi-circular Arch	4 rings (transverse) Regular brick	10m	4.5m
<u>New Kingdom</u>				
Ramesseum Magazine	Laminated Arch	4 rings (stretchers)	3.5m	3.20m (average)
Osireion Entrance	Composite Arch	5 rings (headers), Special brick 3 rings (transverse) Regular brick	3.10m	2.9m
<u>XXVth Dyn.</u>				
Tomb Piye	Cut from Bedrock	-	1.9m	2.50m
Tomb Nu 47	Cut from Bedrock	-	2.0m	1.0m
<u>Saite</u>				
Mentuemhet (E. Pylon)	Composite arch	3-4 rings (stretchers), Special brick 6 rings (transverse), Regular brick	8m	3.2m
Pedineith (E. Pylon)	Composite arch	2 rings (stretchers), Special brick 2 rings (transverse), Regular brick	5.7m	3.0m
Sheshonq (Pylon II)	Composite arch	1 ring (stretchers), Special brick 3 rings (transverse), Regular brick	-	2.8m

fig. 11

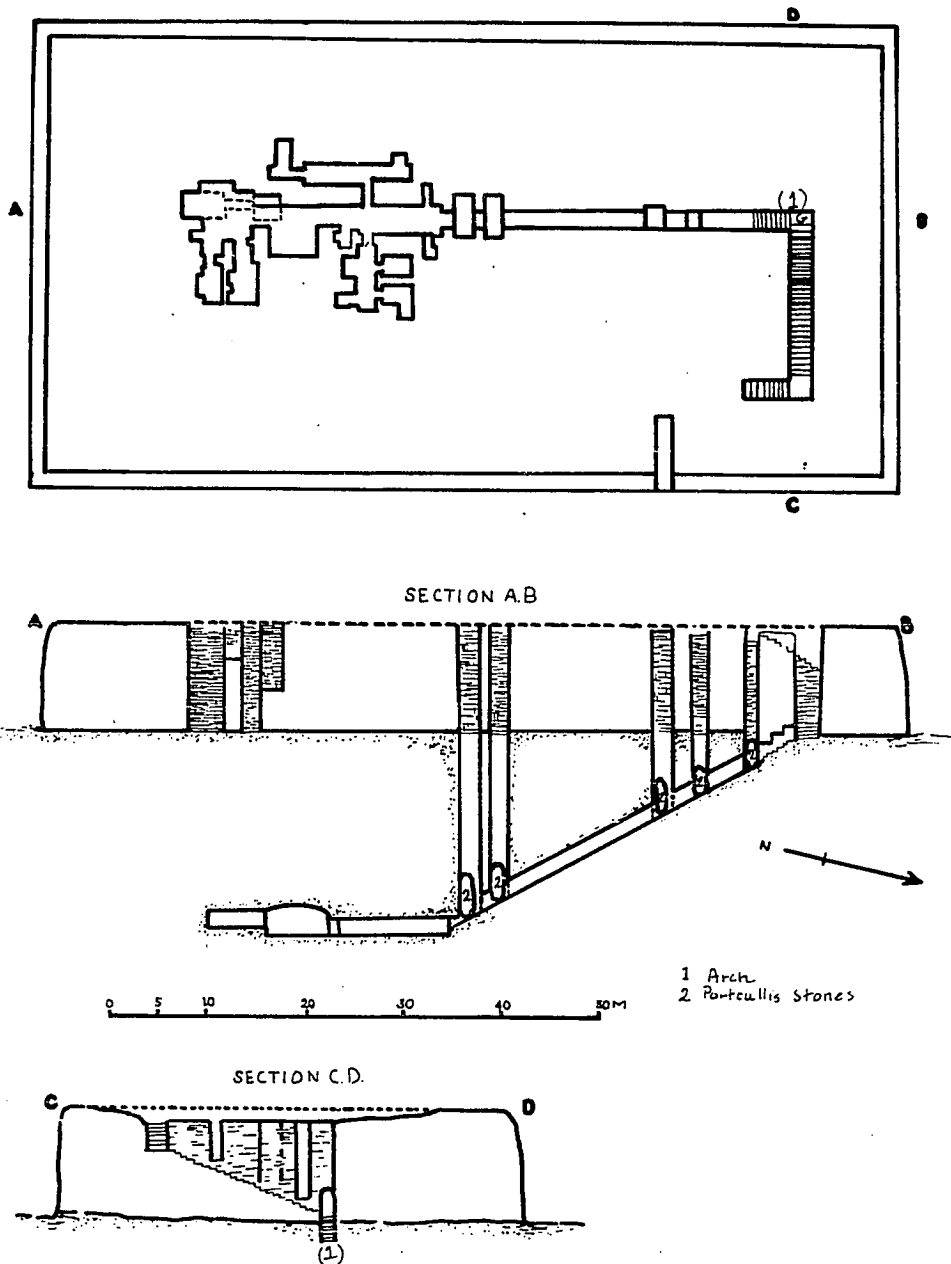


fig. 12

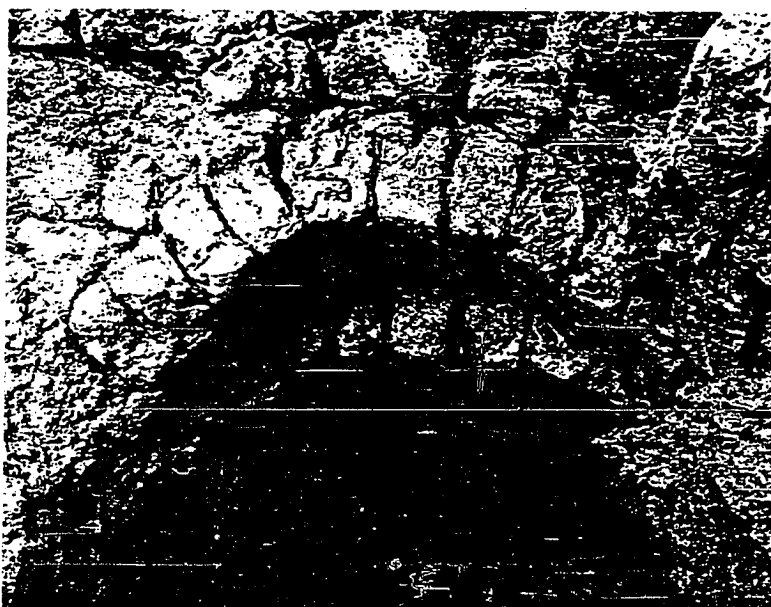


fig. 13

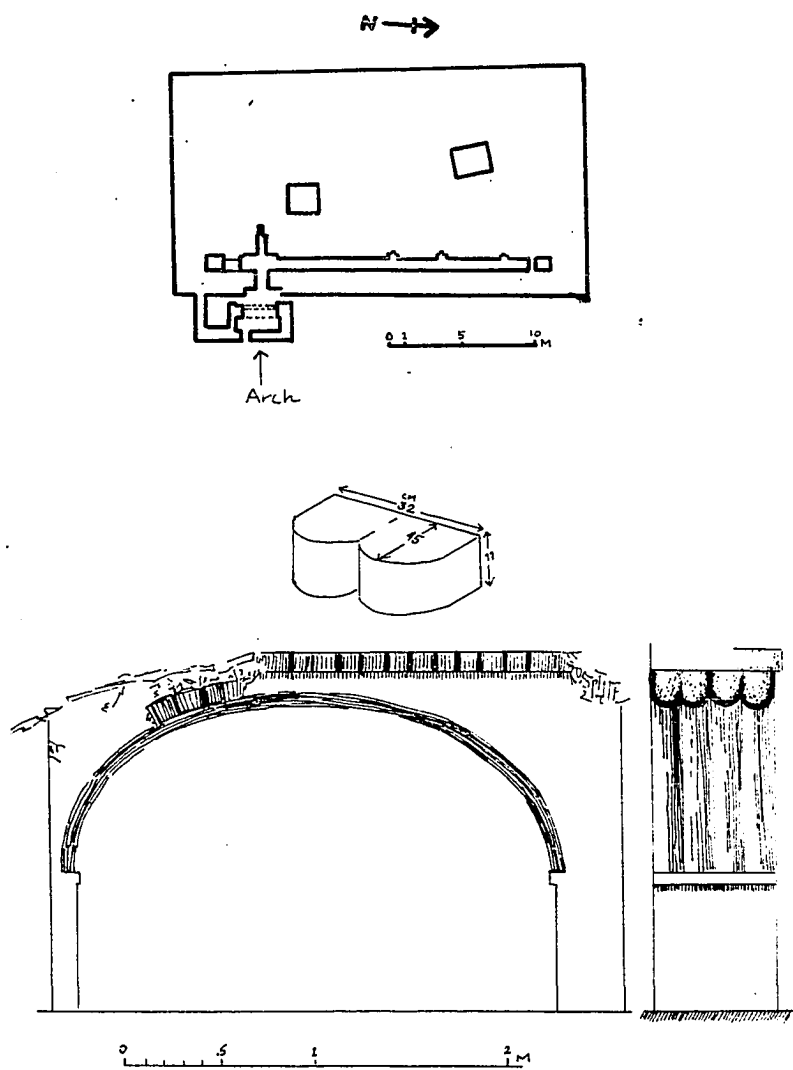


fig. 14

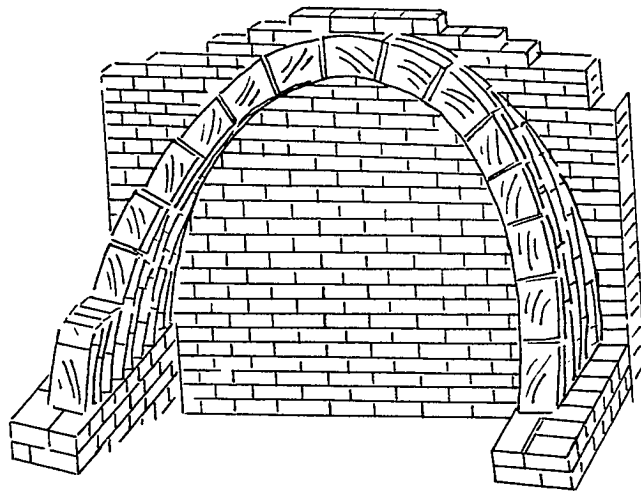
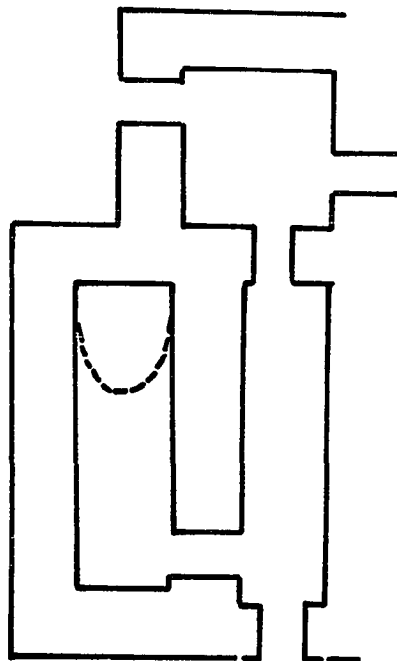


fig. 15



0 1 2 3 M

fig. 16

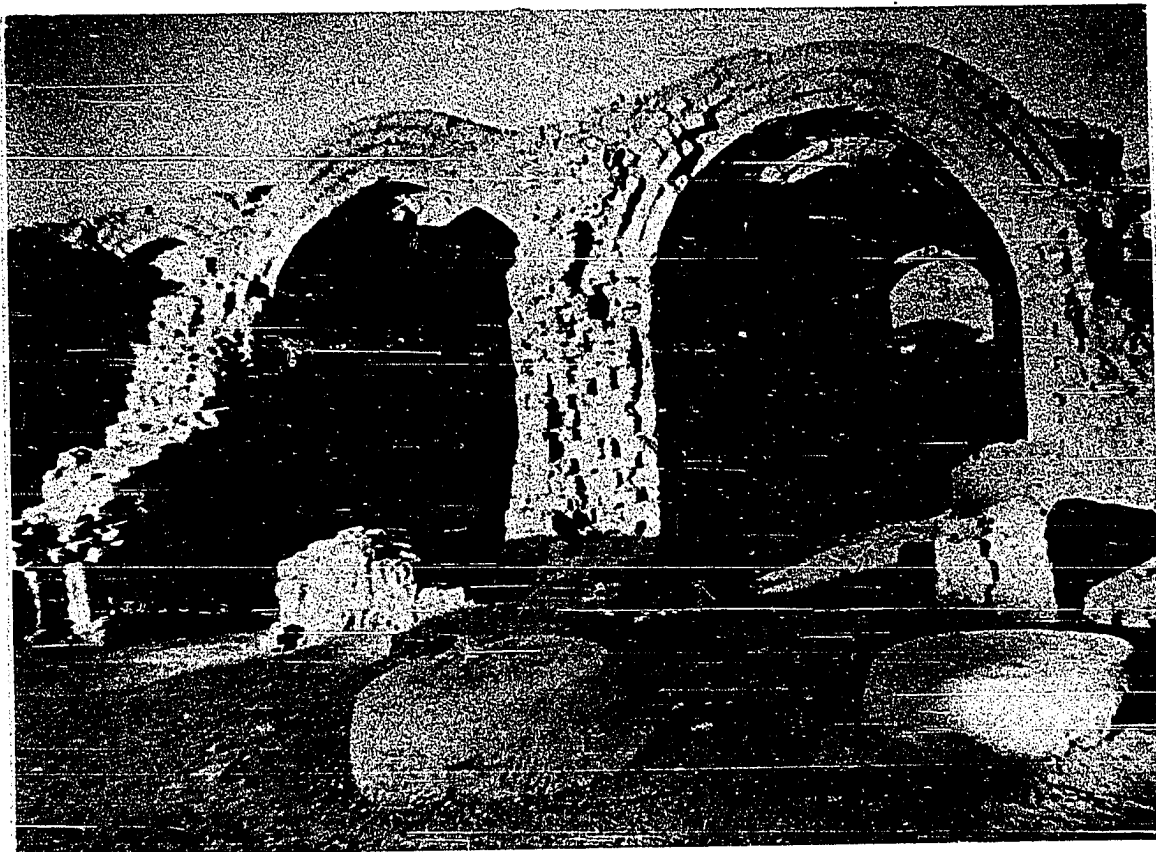


fig. 17

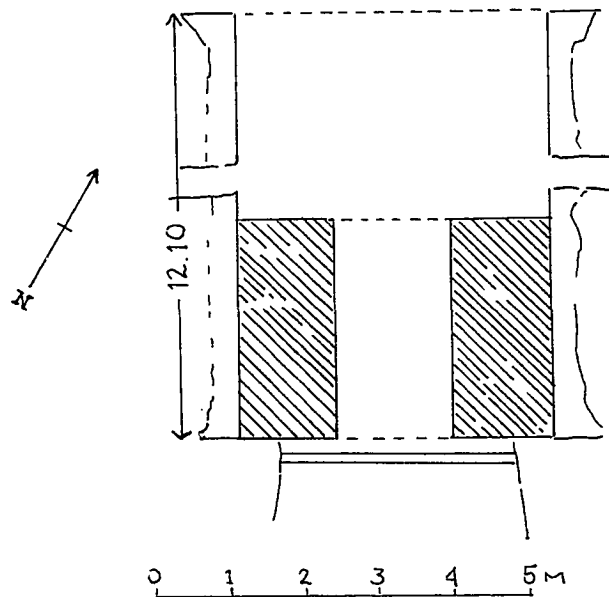
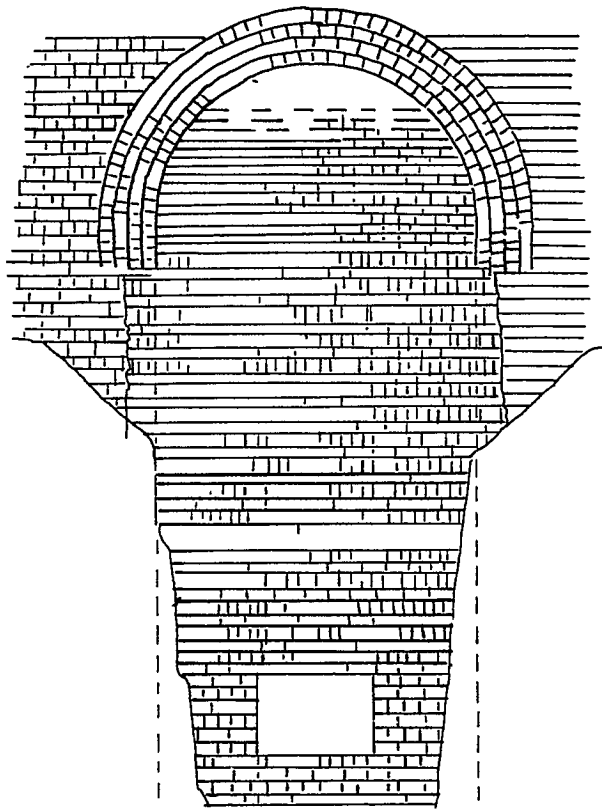


fig. 18

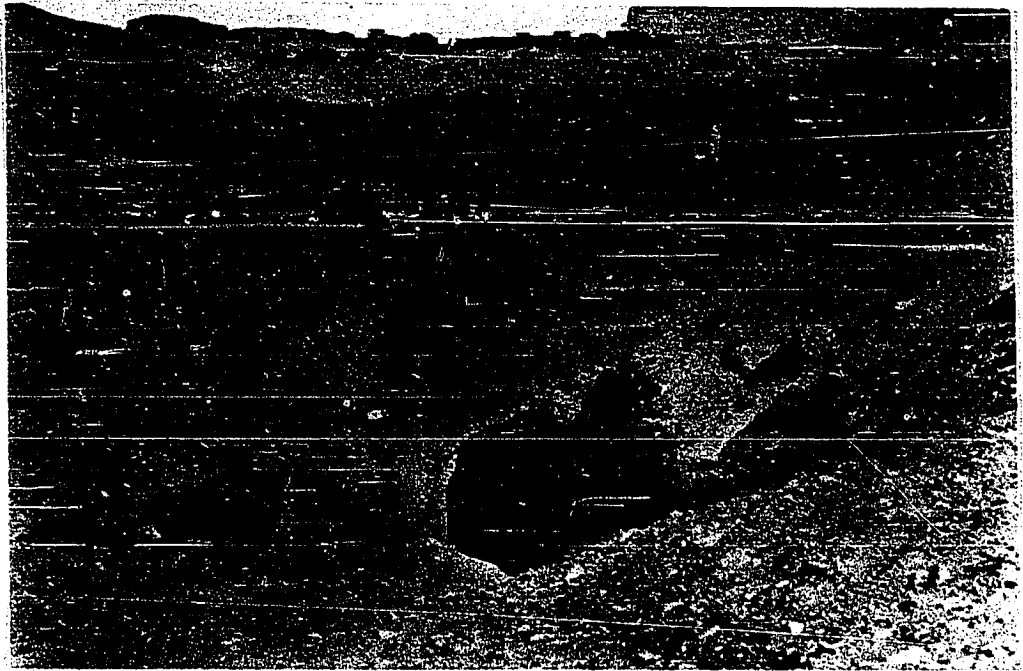


fig. 19



fig. 20



fig.-21

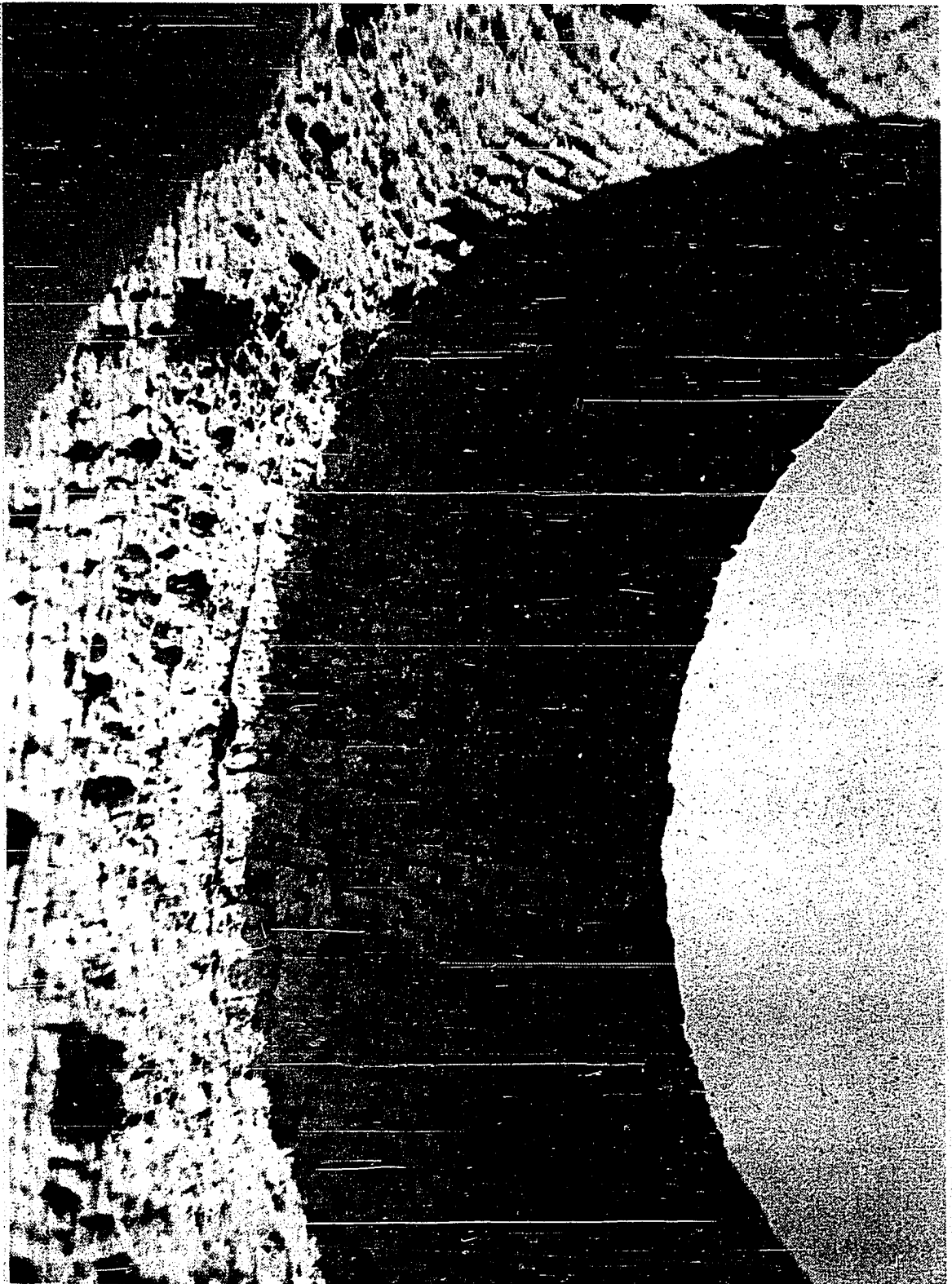


fig. 2.2

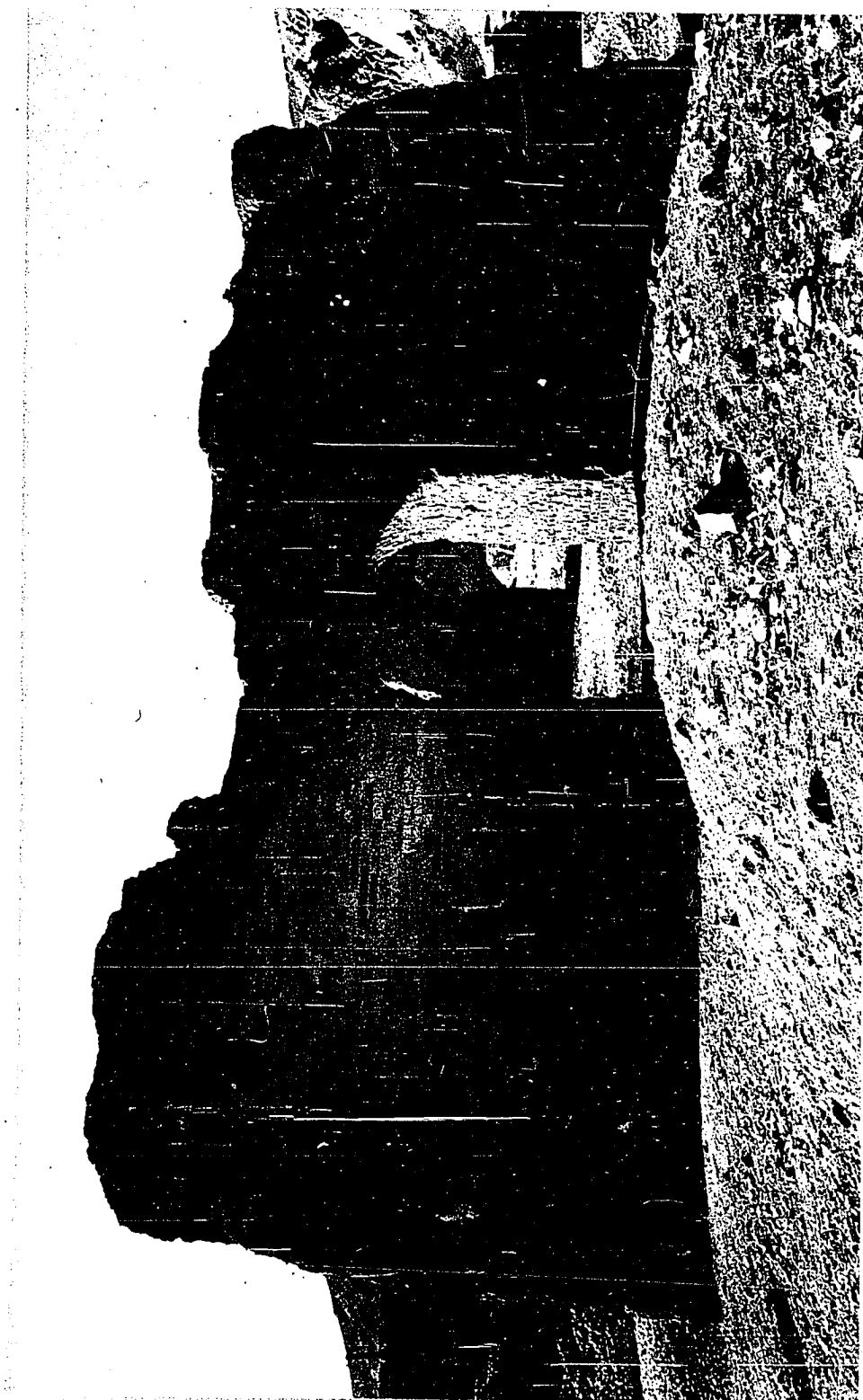


fig. 23

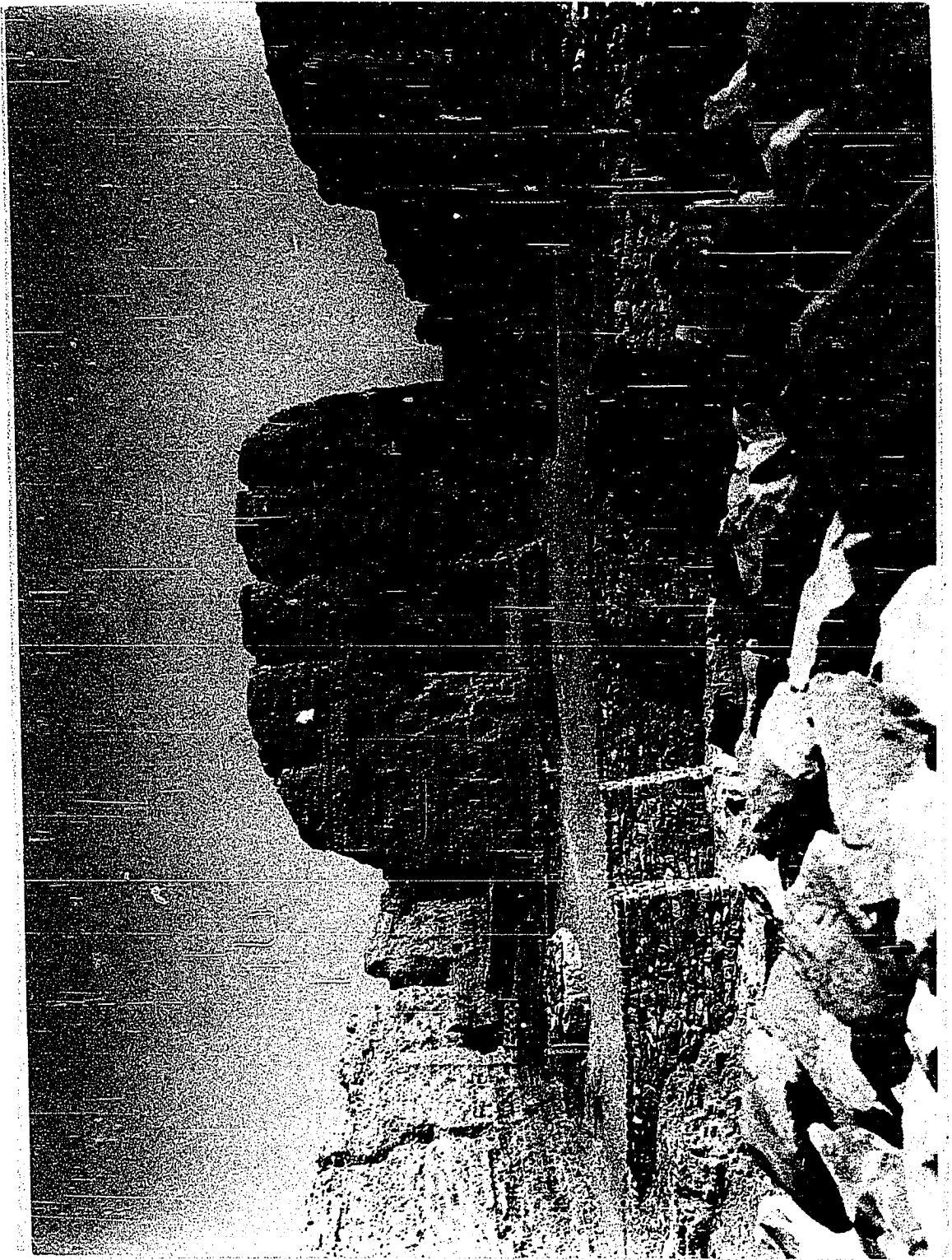


fig. 24

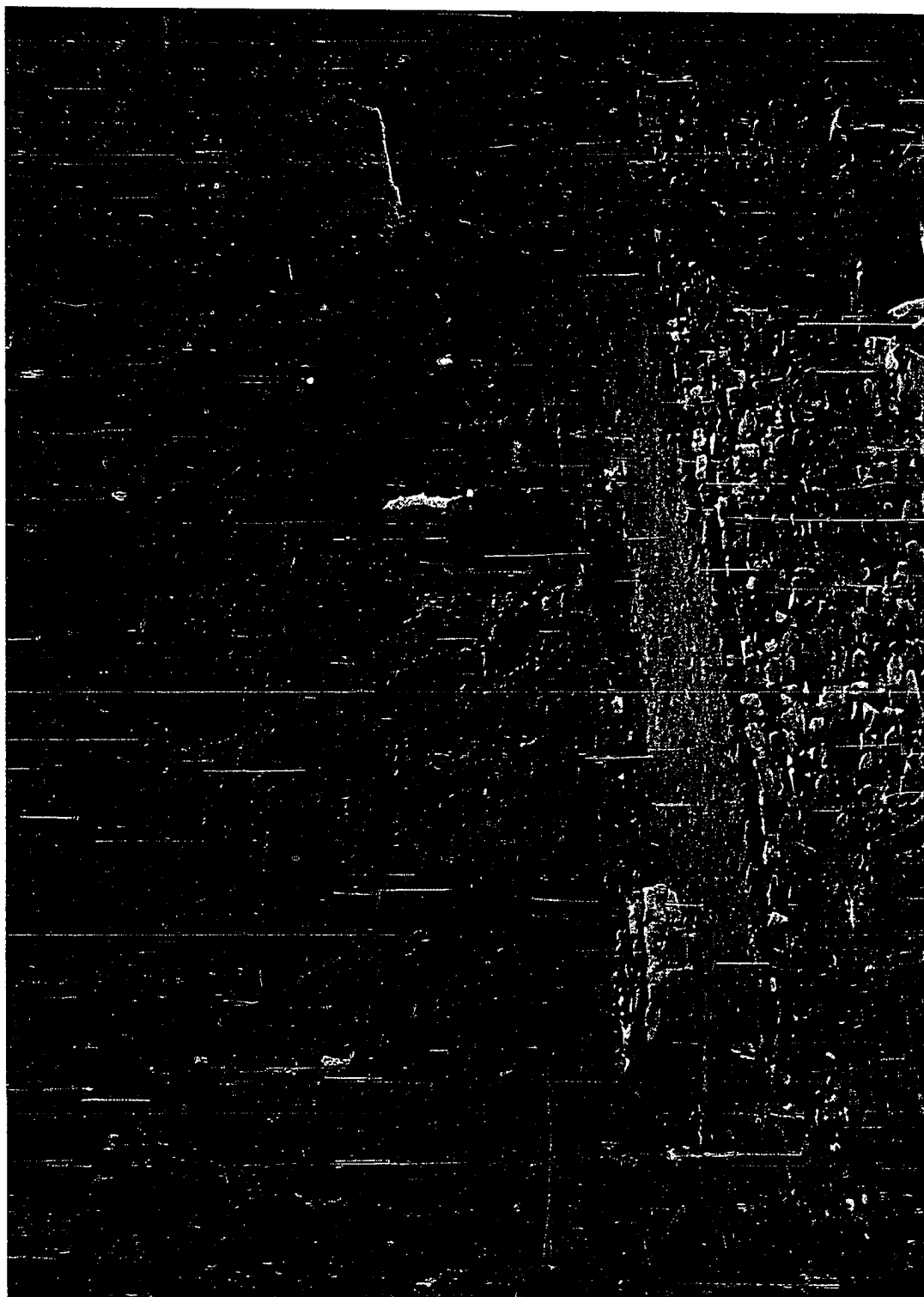


fig. 25

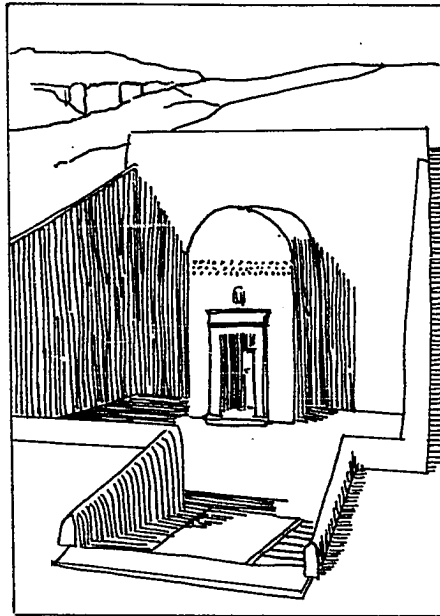


fig. 26

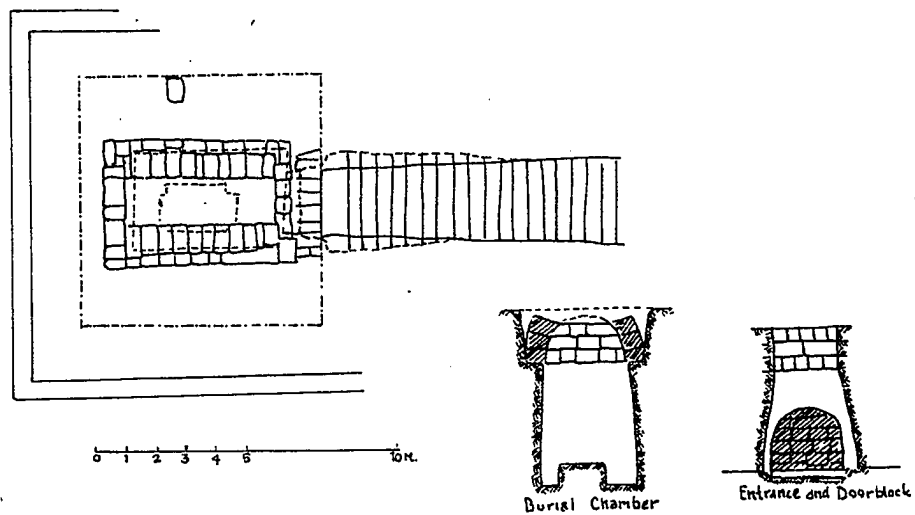


fig. 27

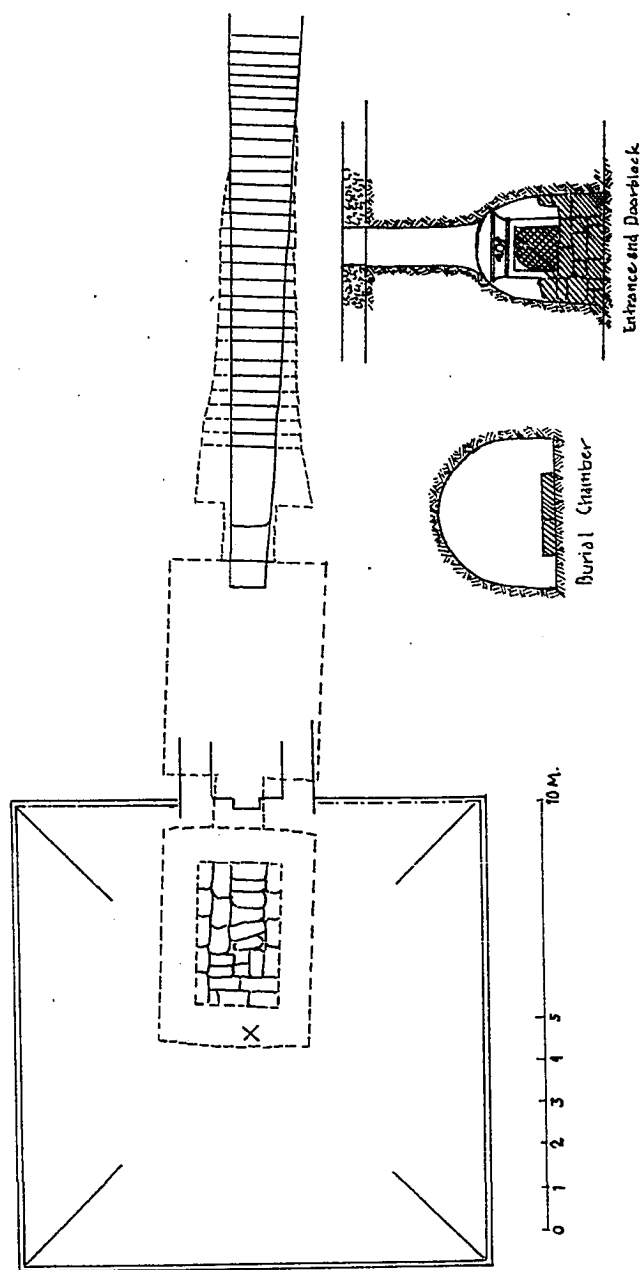


fig. 28



fig. 29



Fig. 30

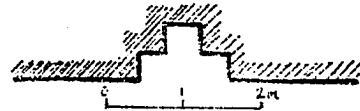


Fig. 31

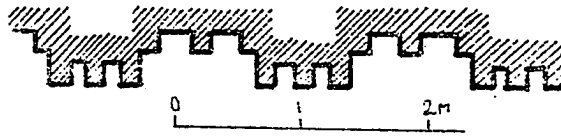


Fig. 32

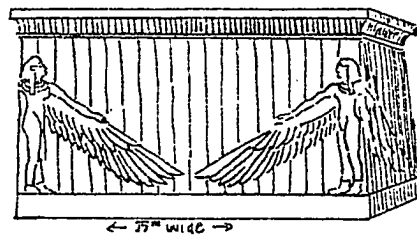


Fig. 33

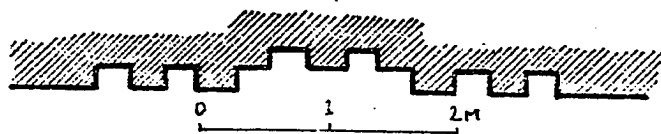


fig. 34



fig. 35

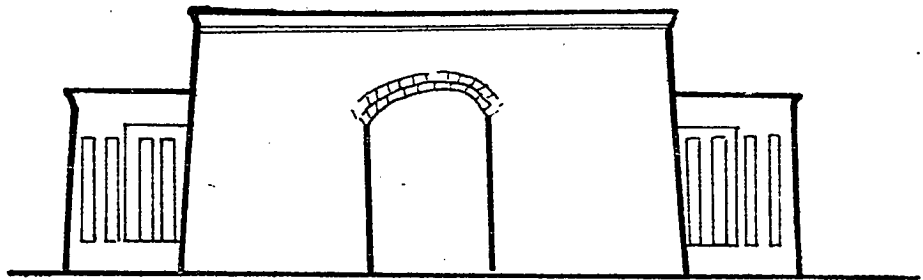
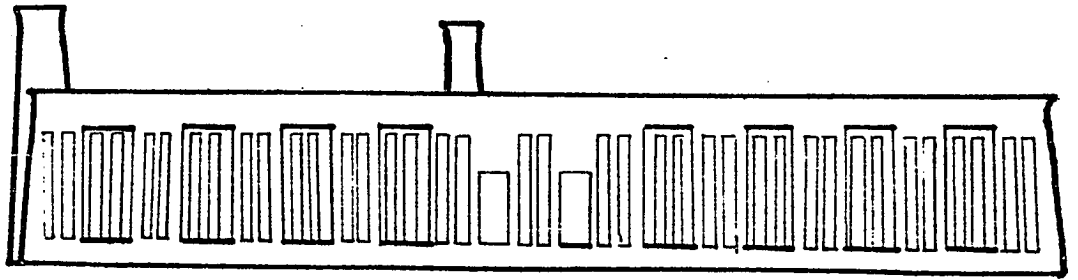


Fig. 36

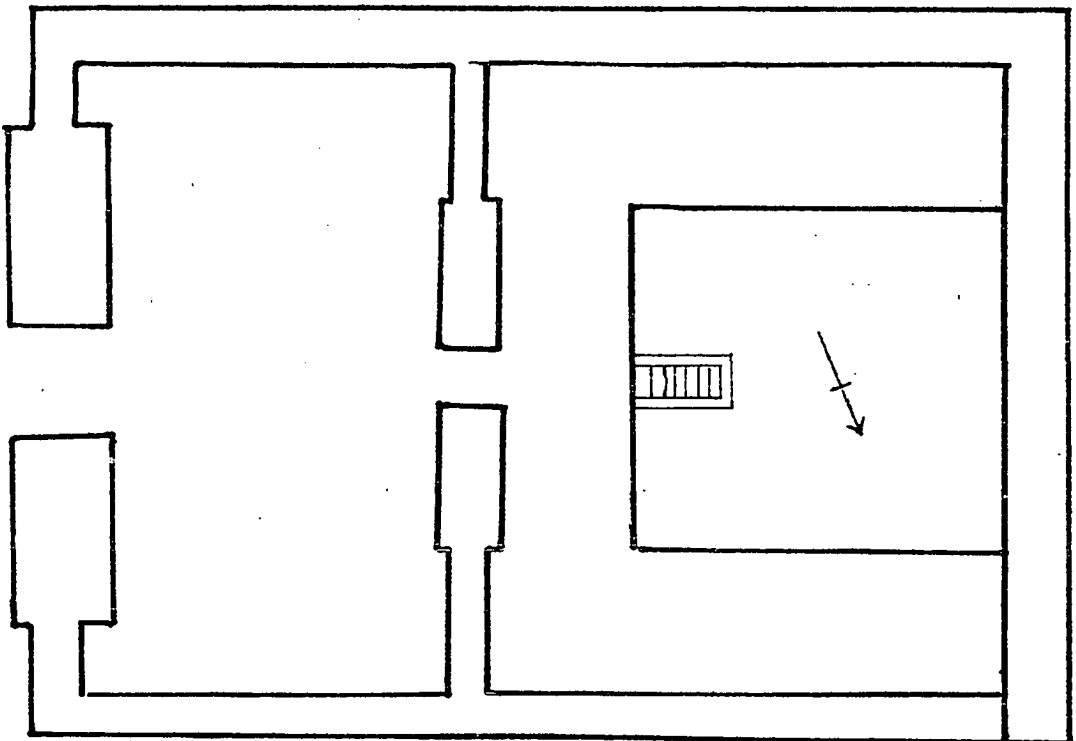




fig. 37

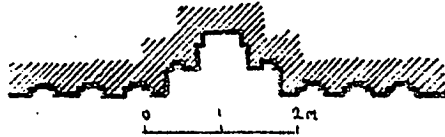


Fig. 38

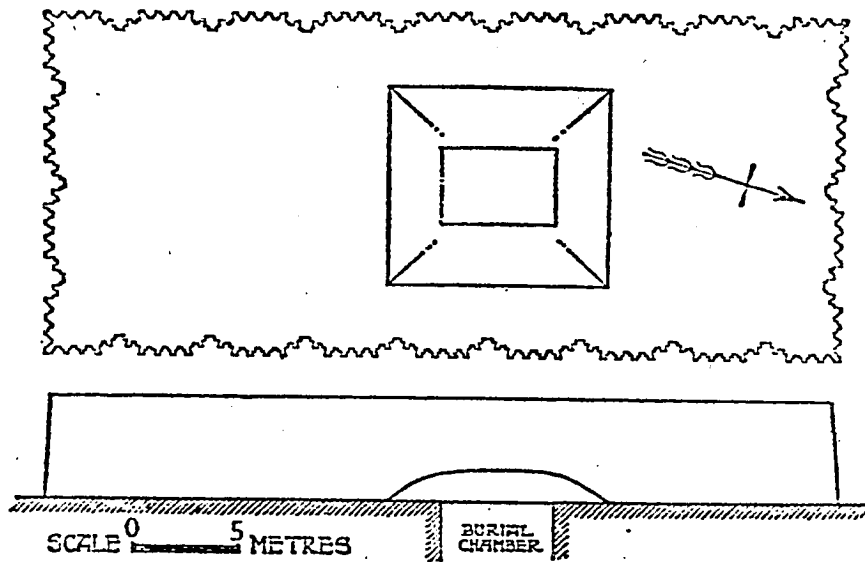
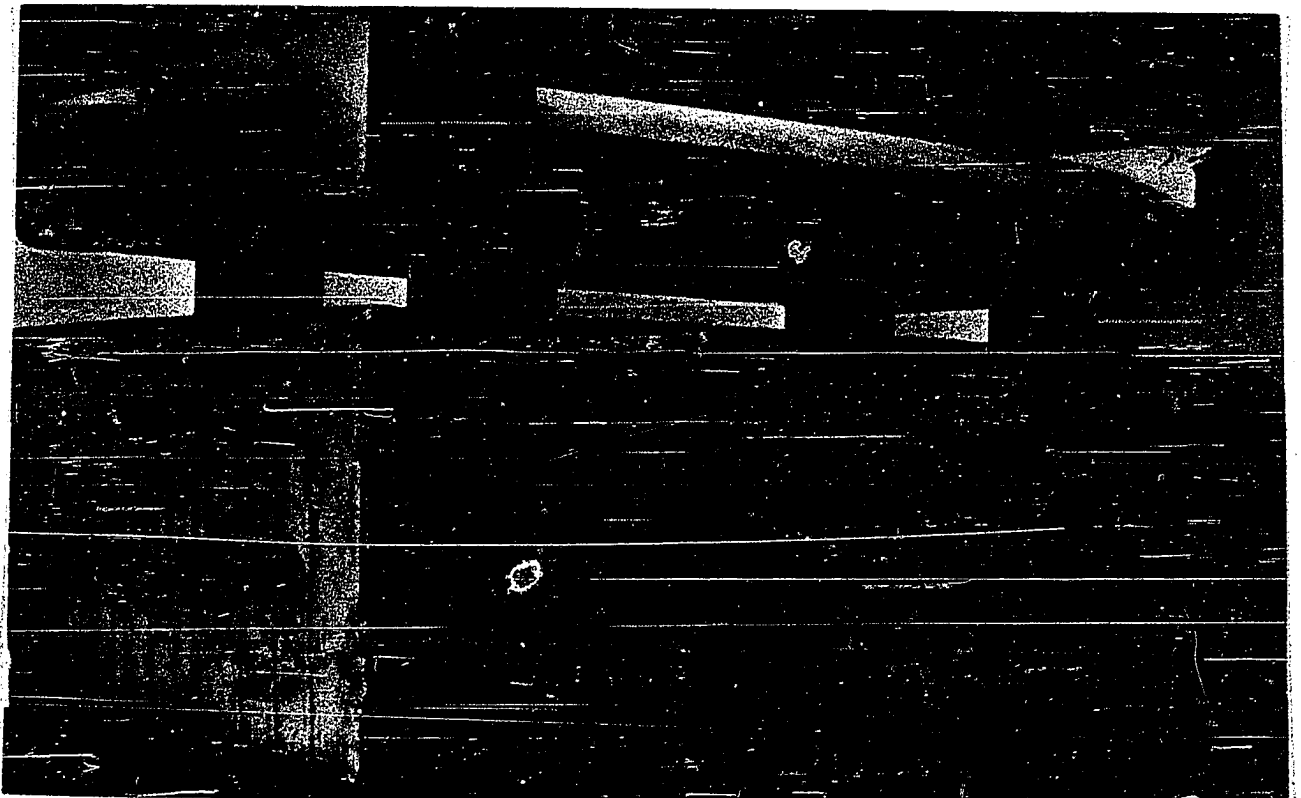


Fig. 39



fig. 40 ↑

fig. 41 ↓



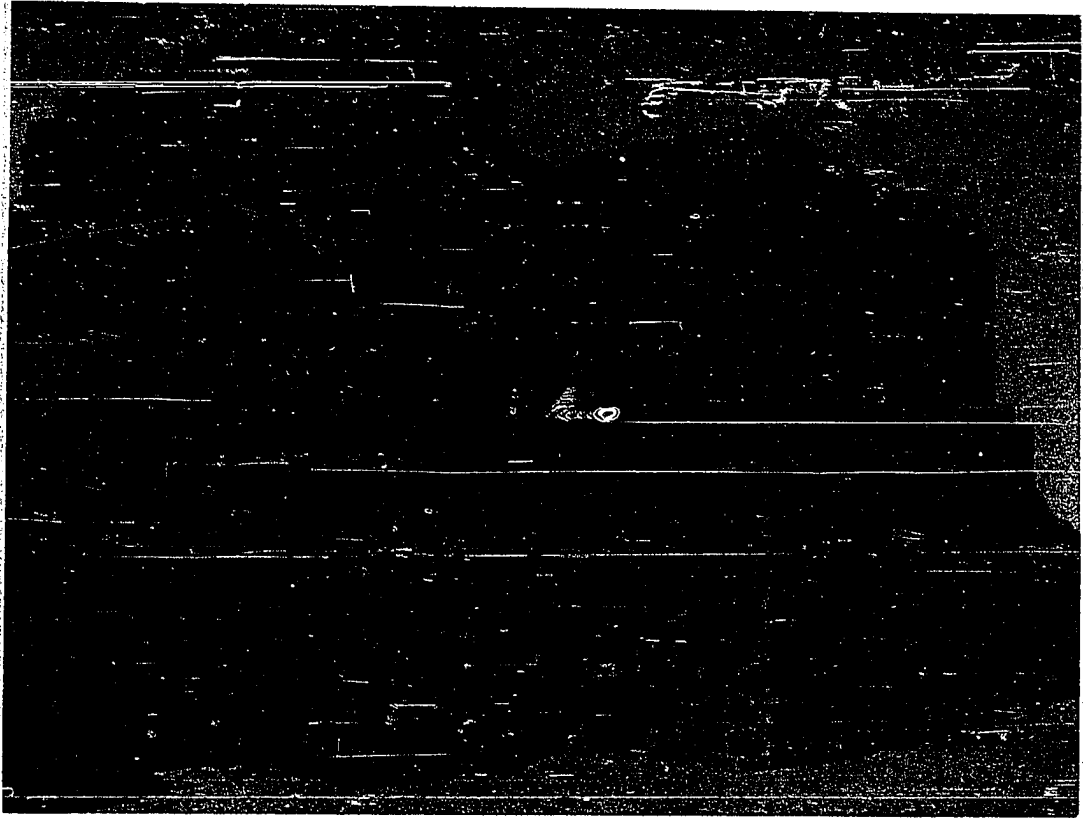


fig. 42

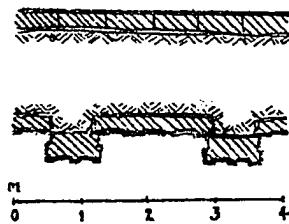


fig. 43



fig. 44

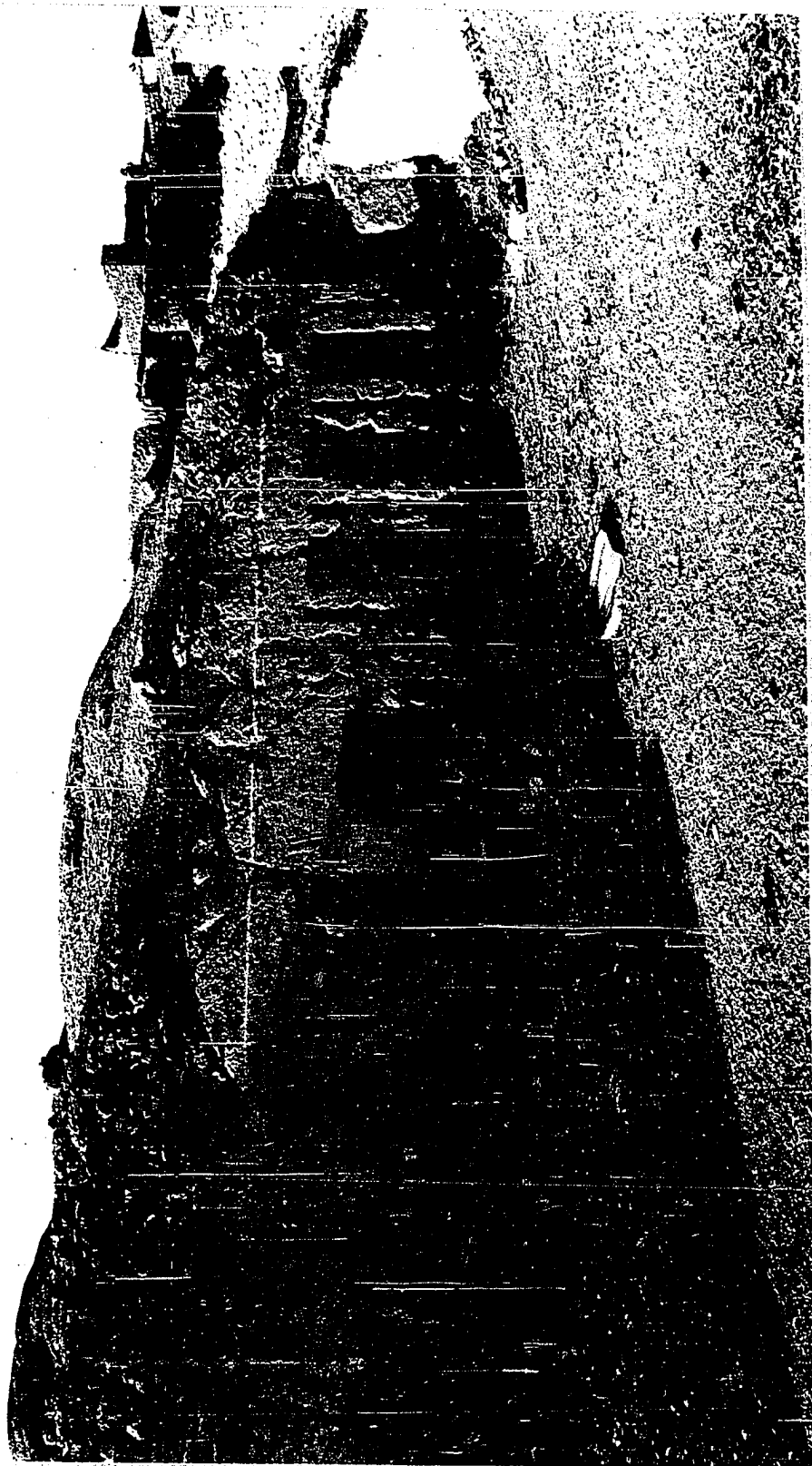


fig. 45

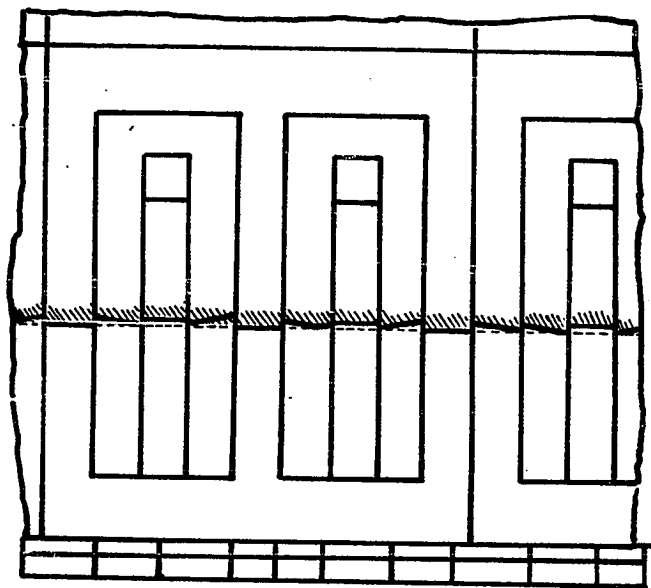


fig. 46

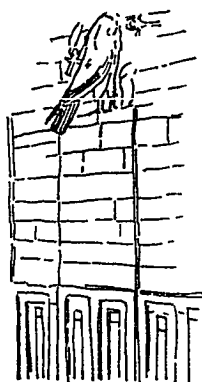


fig. 47

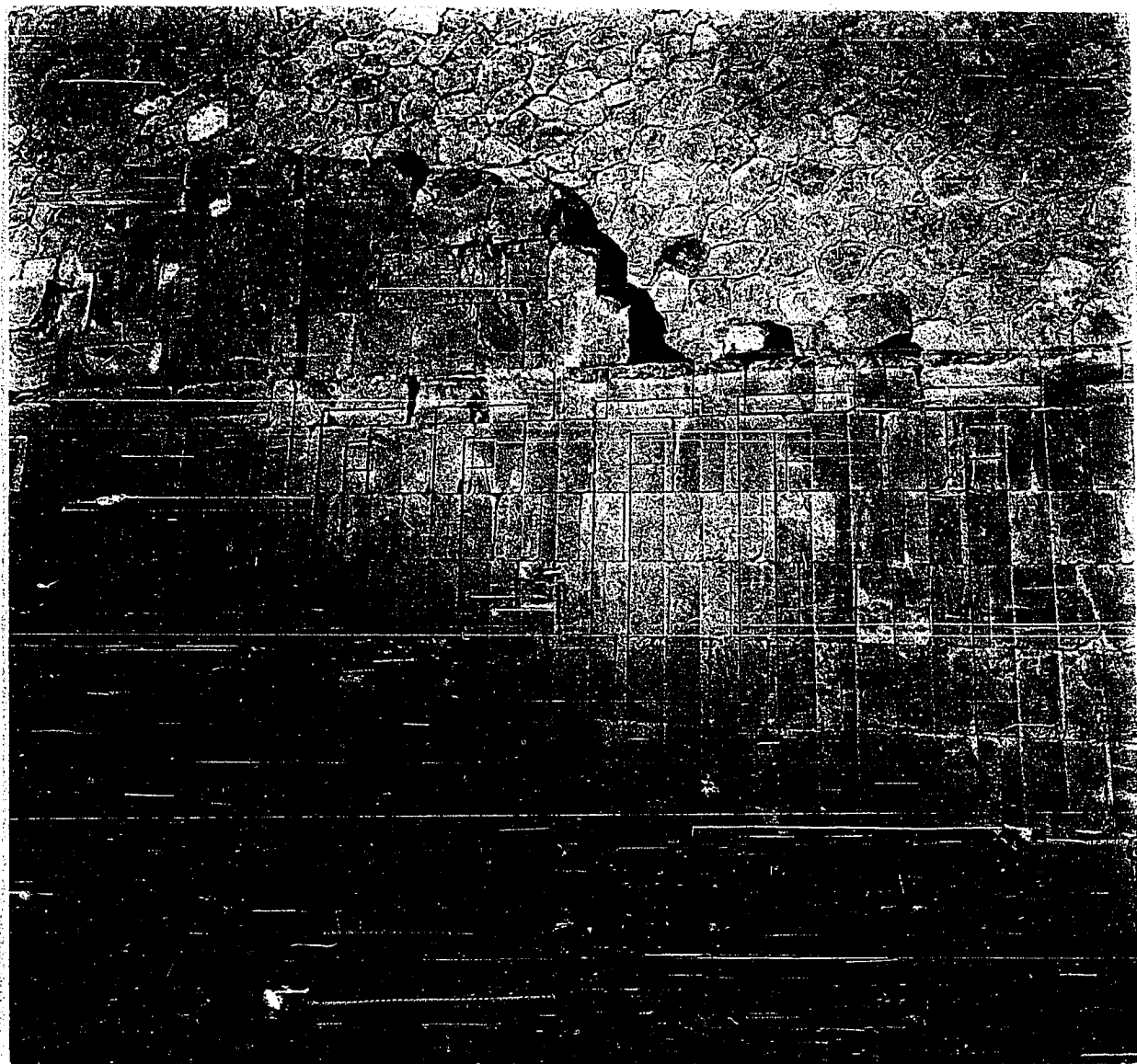


fig. 48

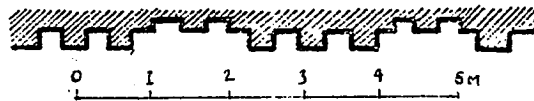


fig. 49

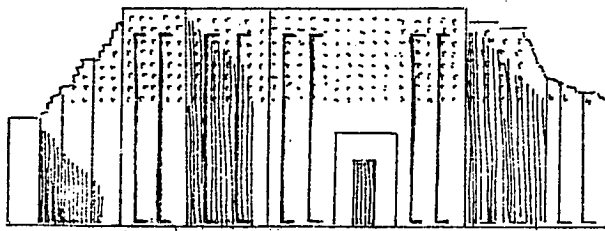


fig. 50

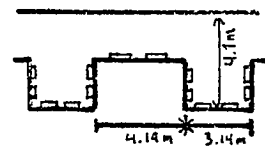
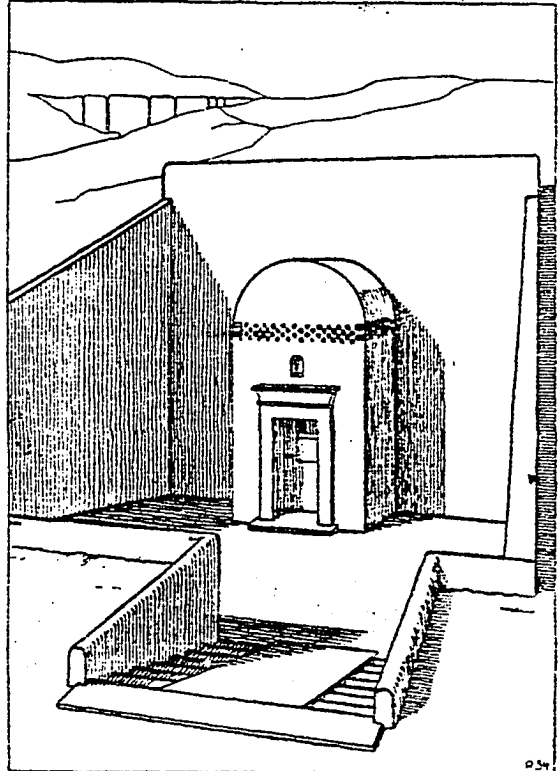
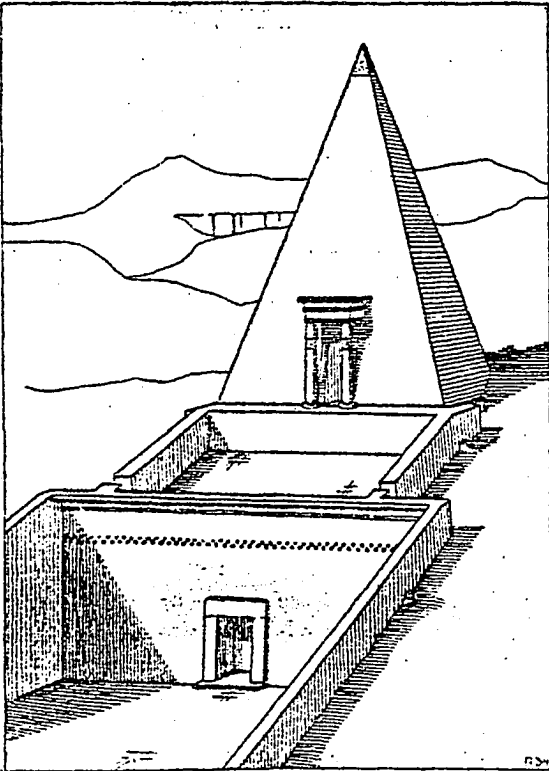
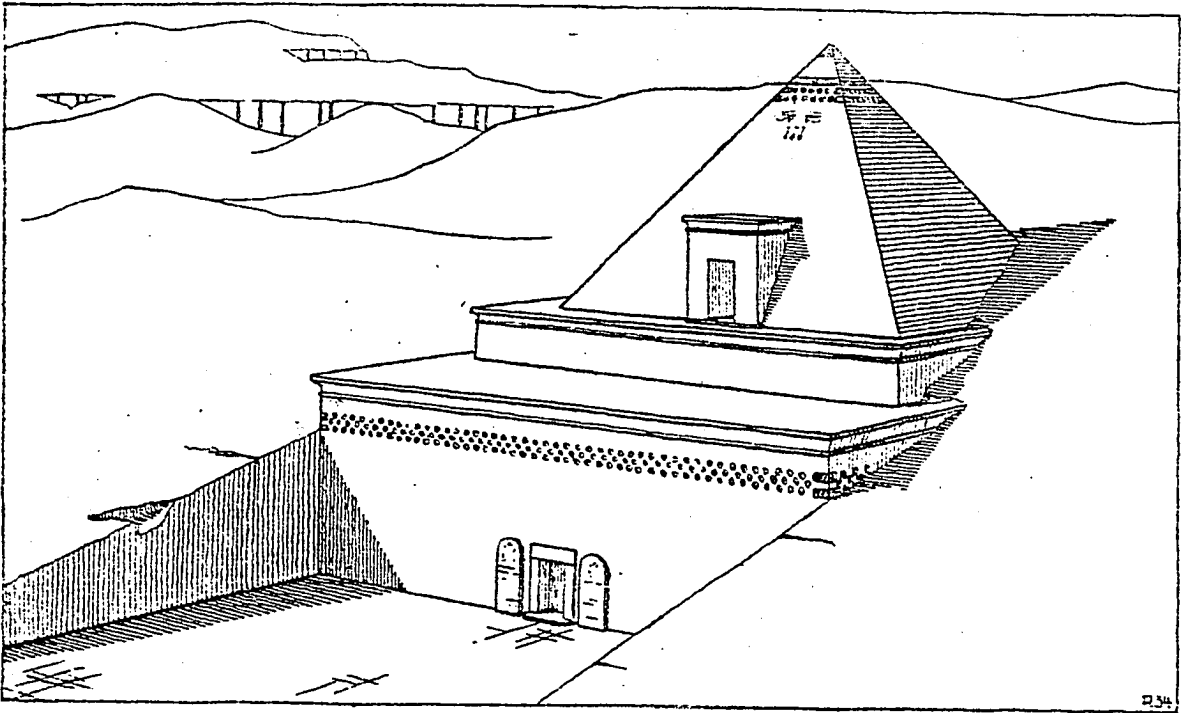


fig. 51

fig. 52





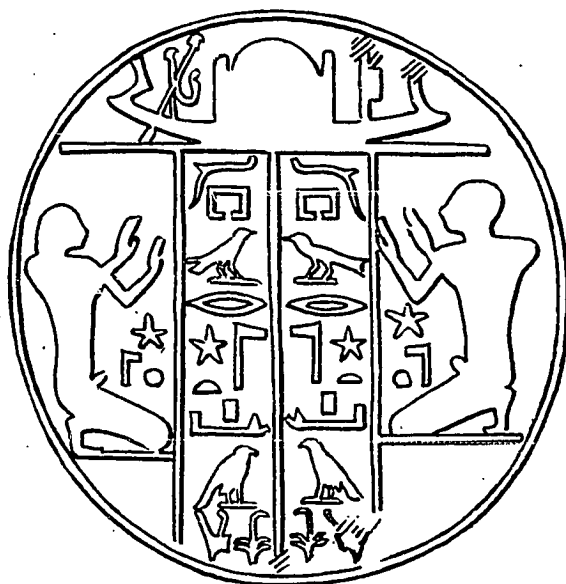
410

fig. 53



fig. 54

604



609

fig. 55



fig. 56

444

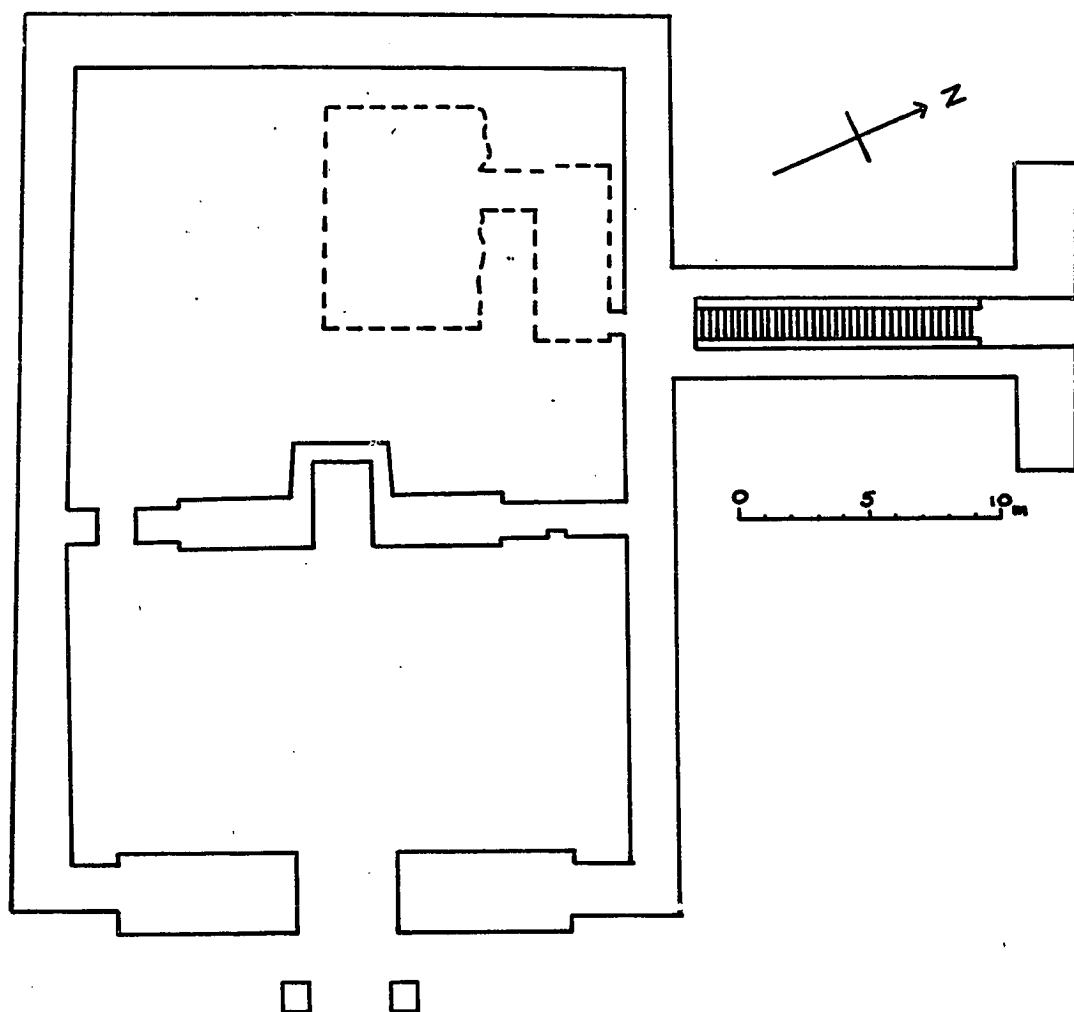


fig. 57



fig. 58

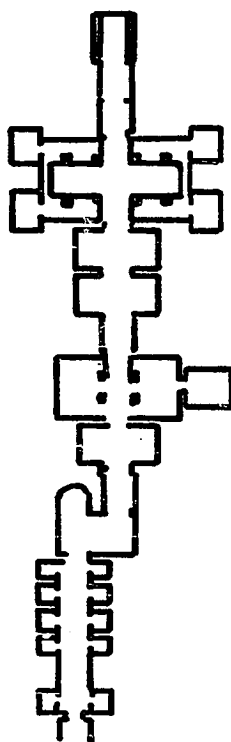


fig. 59

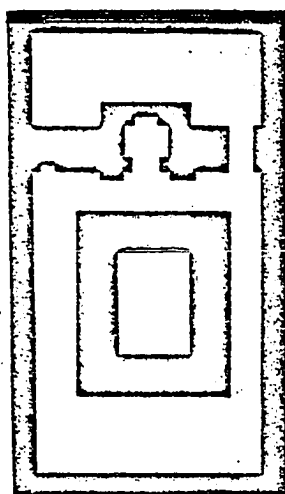


fig. 60



fig. 61

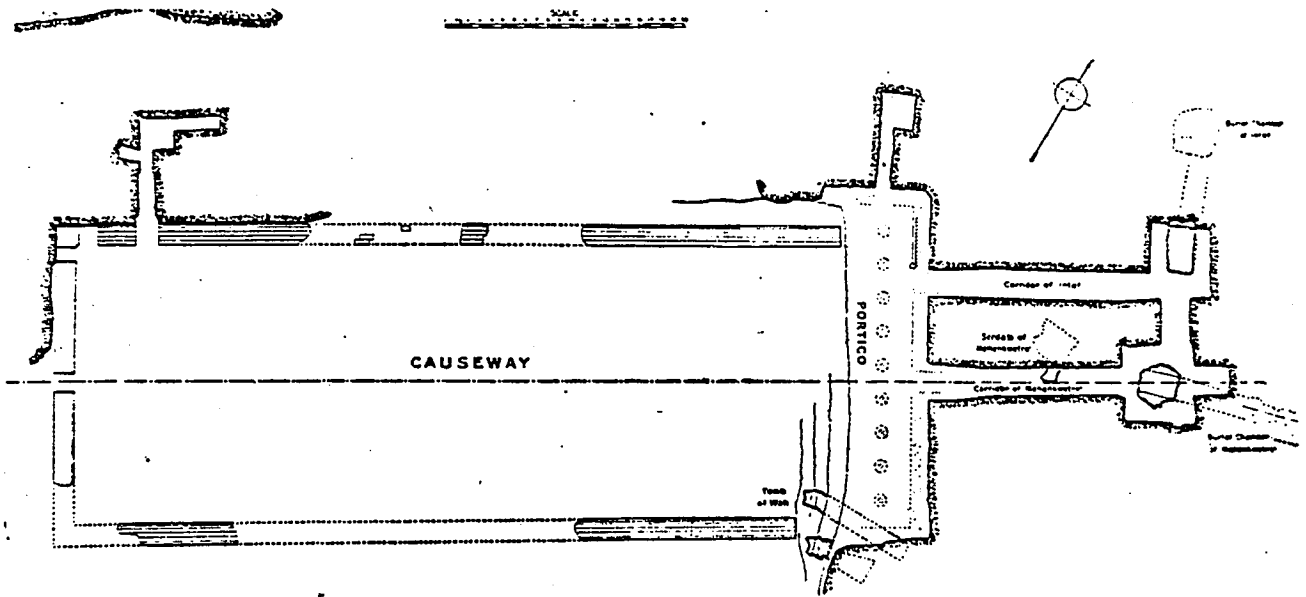


fig. 62

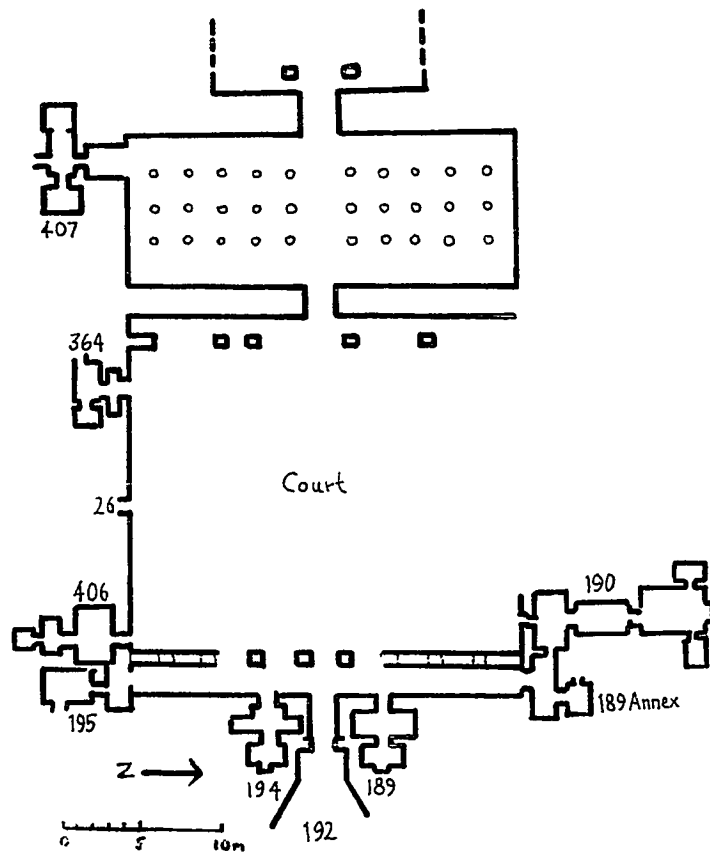


fig. 63

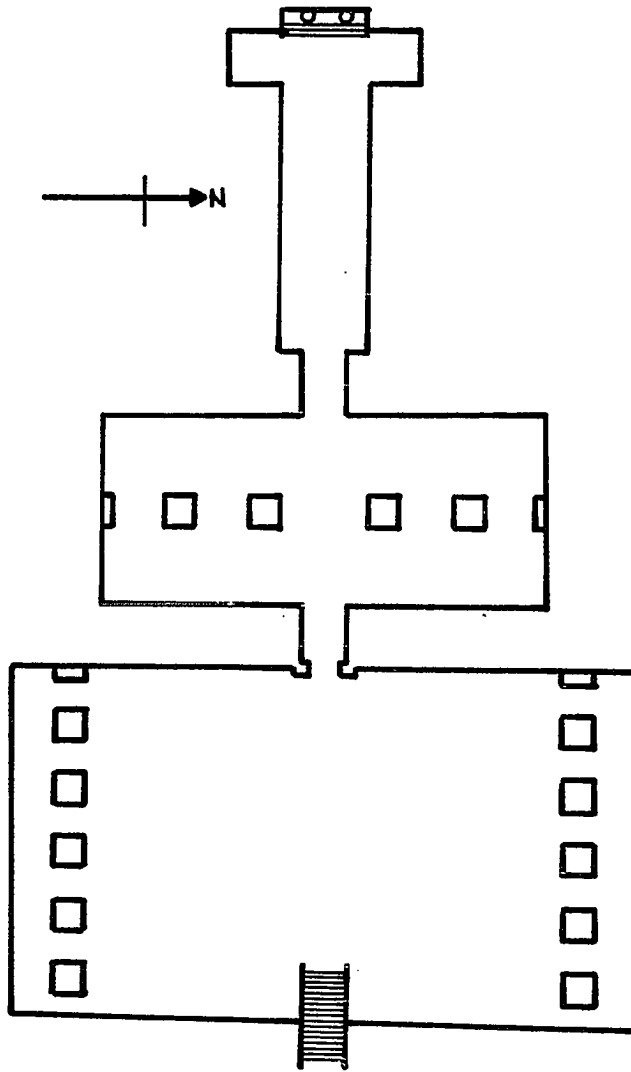


fig. 64

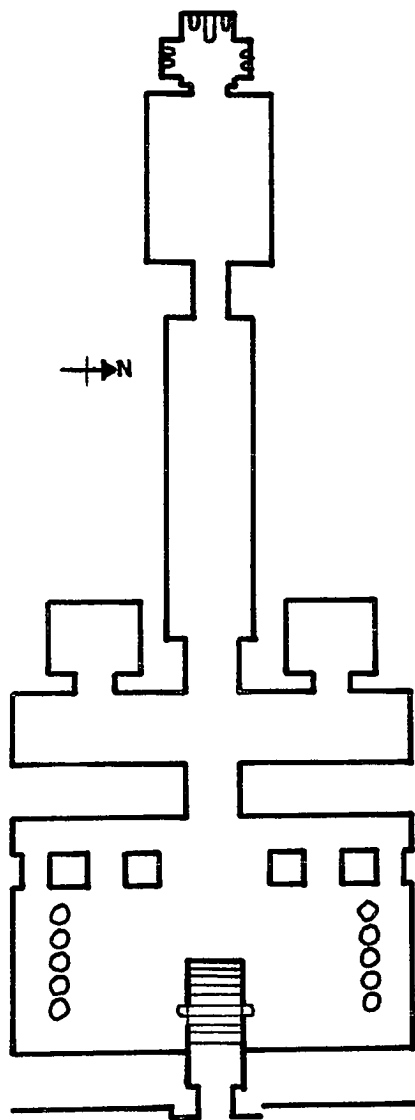


fig. 65

Precedents for the Sunken Court

<u>Element</u>	<u>Tomb and Number</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>
Courtyard fronting tomb	Meketre' (280)	Sankhkare Mentuhotep XIIth Dyn.	Deir el-Bahri
Sunken court	Kheruef (192)	Amenhotep III- Amenhotep IV XVIIIth Dyn.	Assasif
Court with Side Porticos	Ipy (41)	Ram ^a esses I XIXth Dyn.	Shiekh 'Abd el-Qurna
Court with Side Porticos and Rear Portico	Tjoy (23)	Merneptah XIXth Dyn.	Shiekh 'Abd el-Qurna

fig. 66

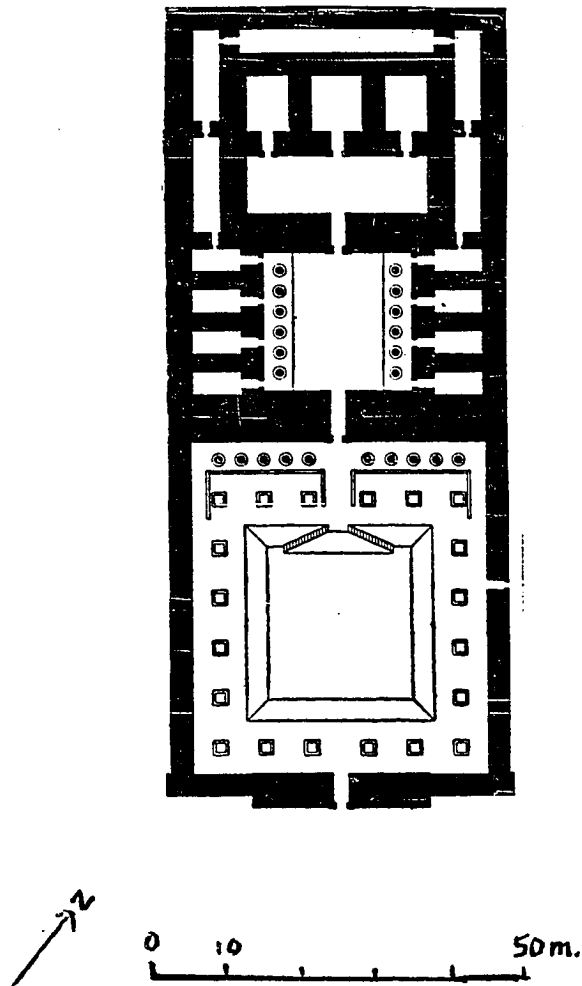


fig. 68



fig. 69

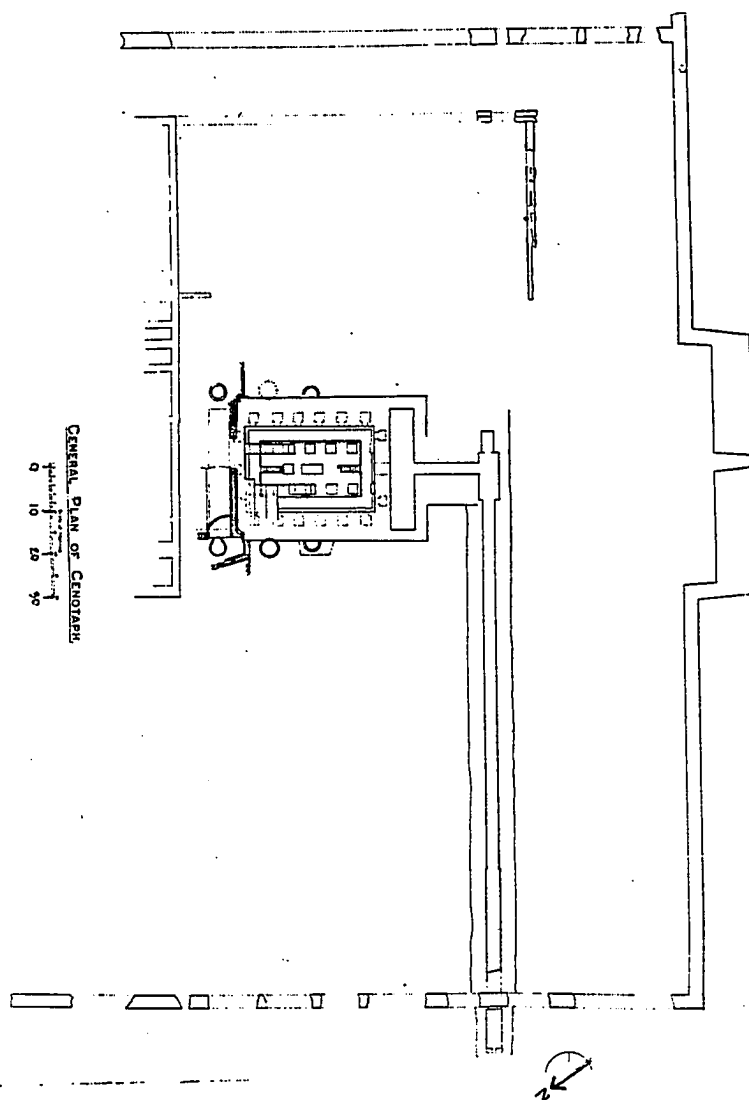


fig. 70

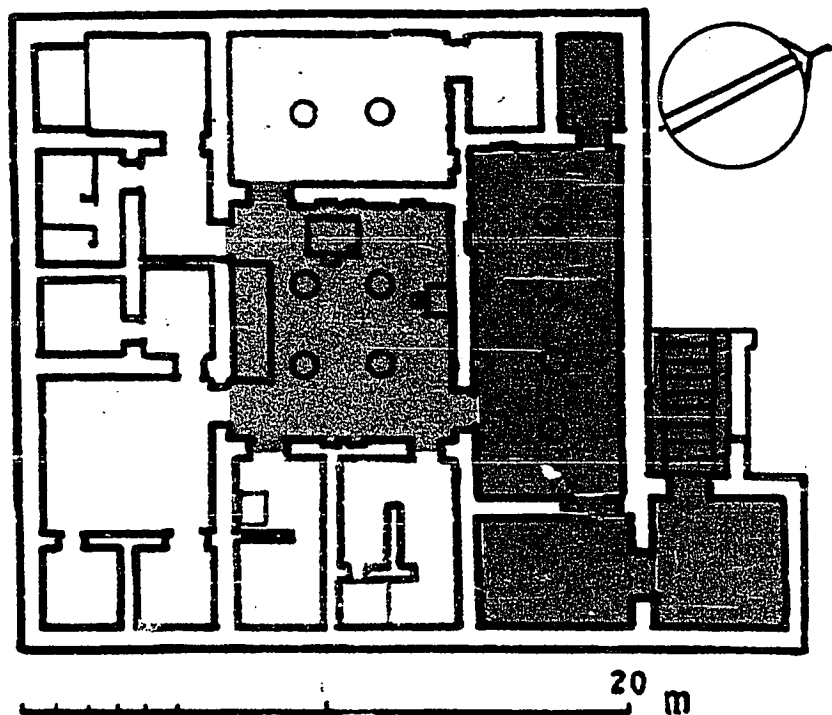


fig. 71

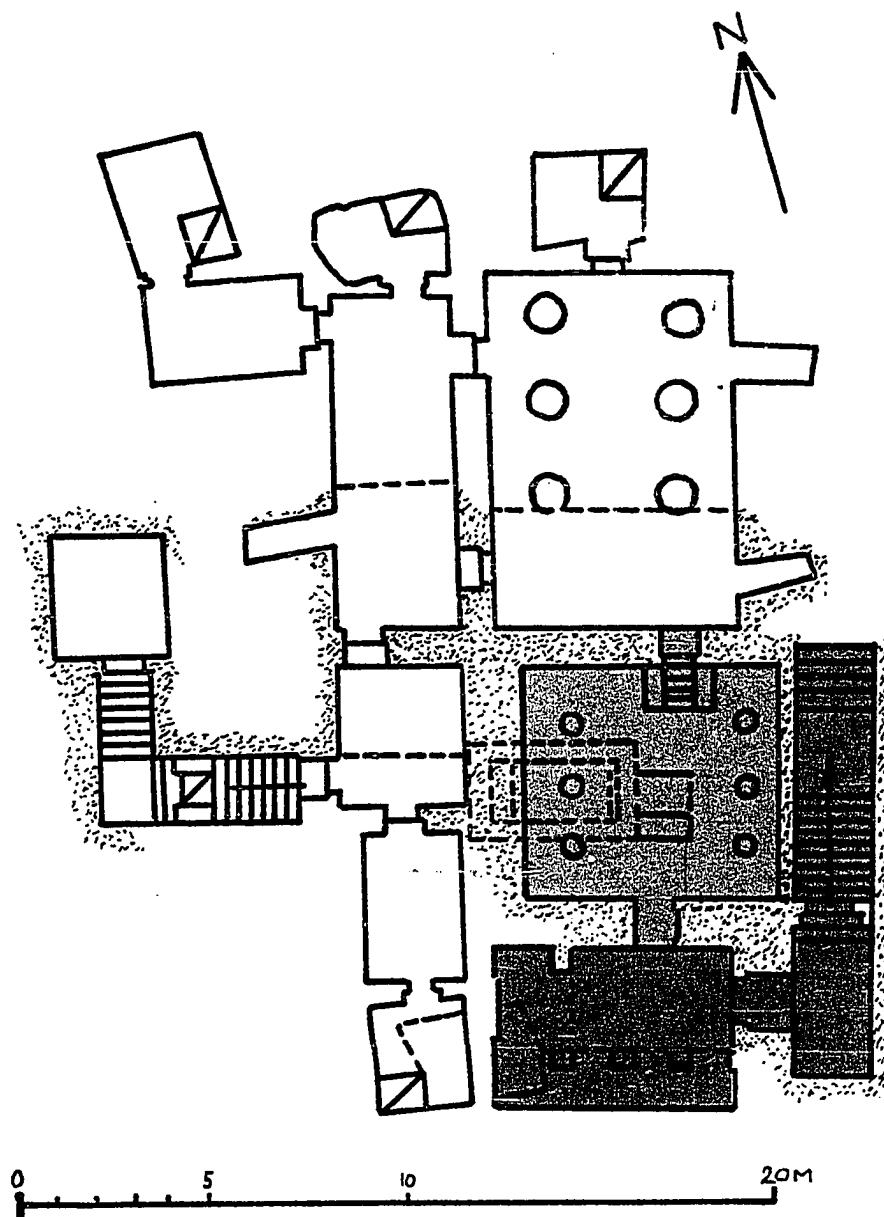


fig. 72

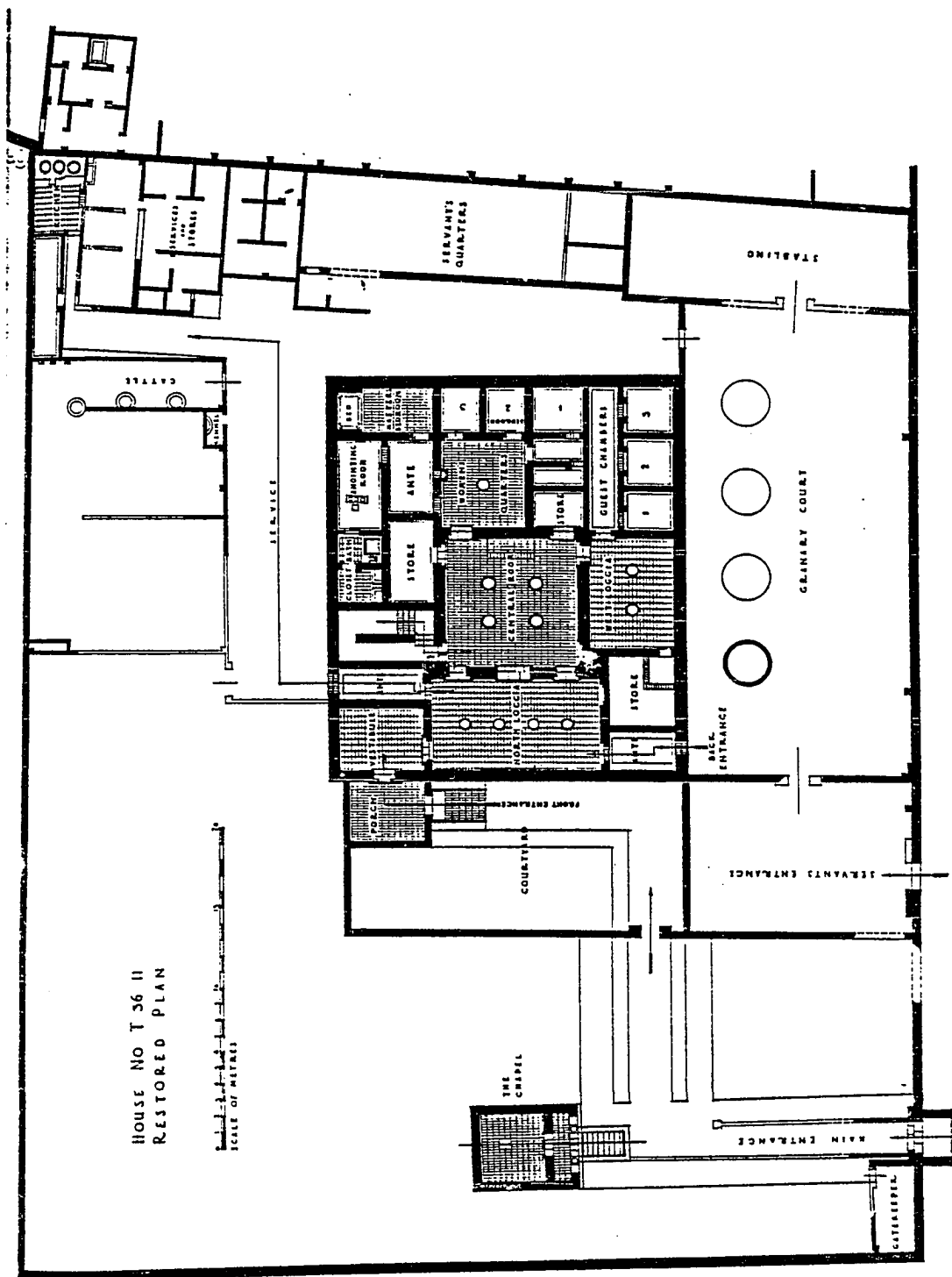


fig. 73

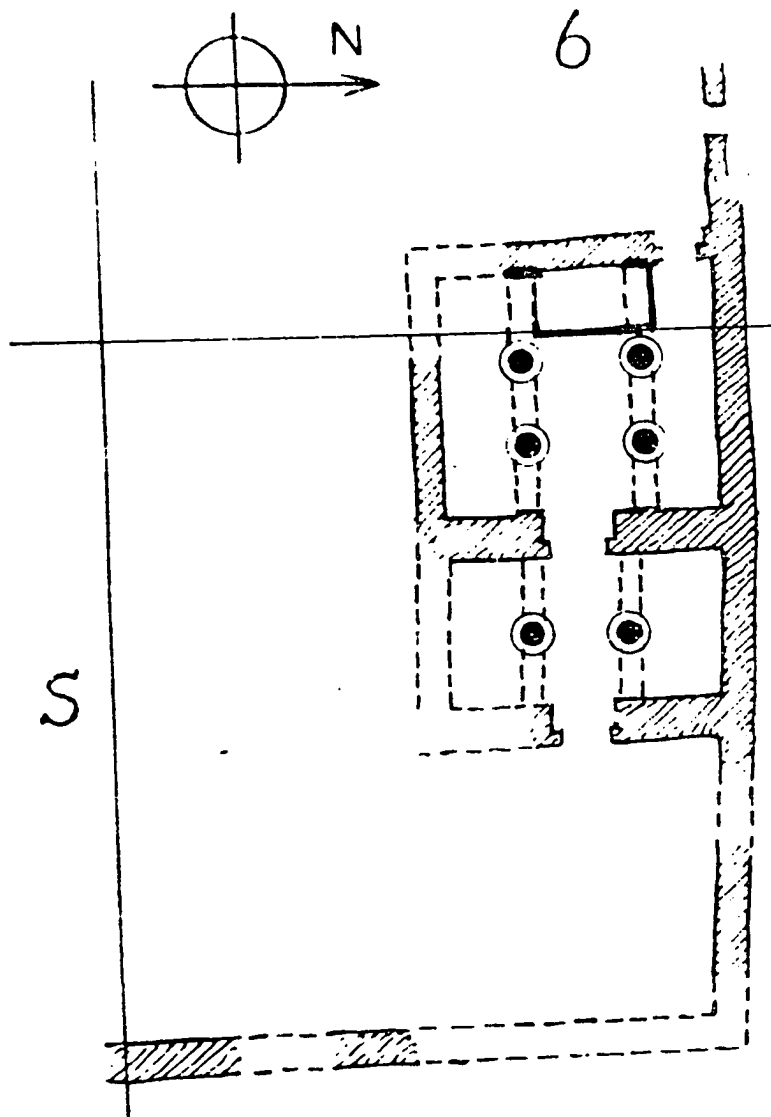


fig. 74

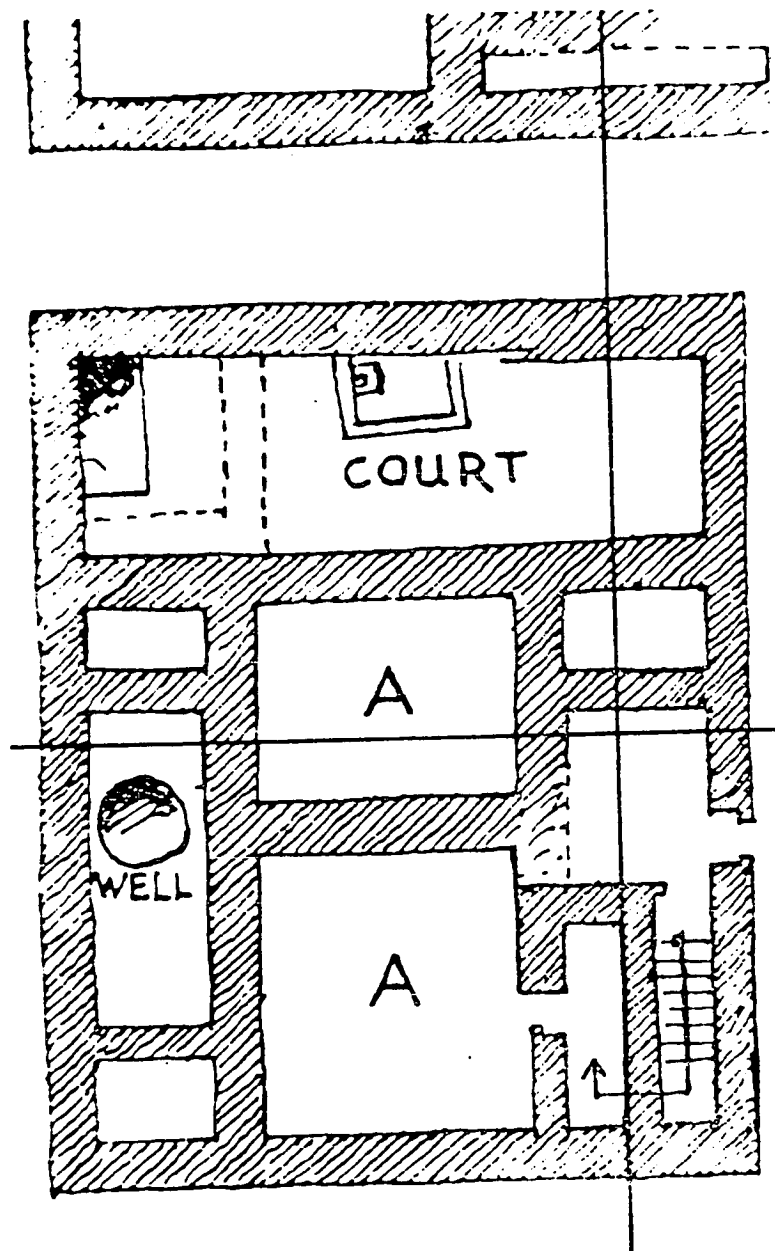


fig. 75

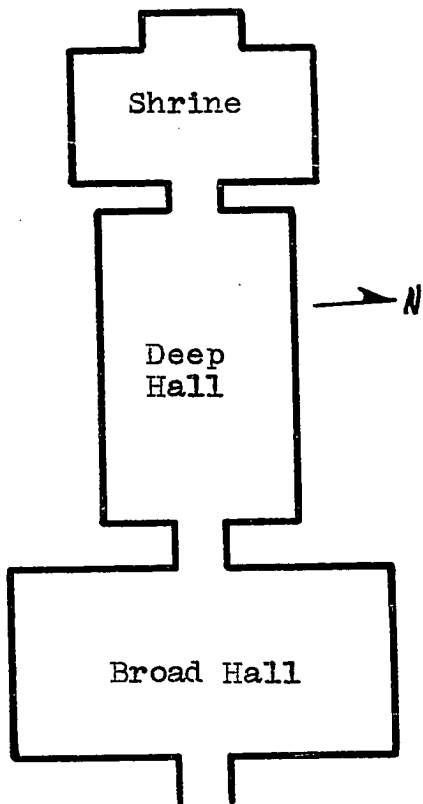


fig. 76

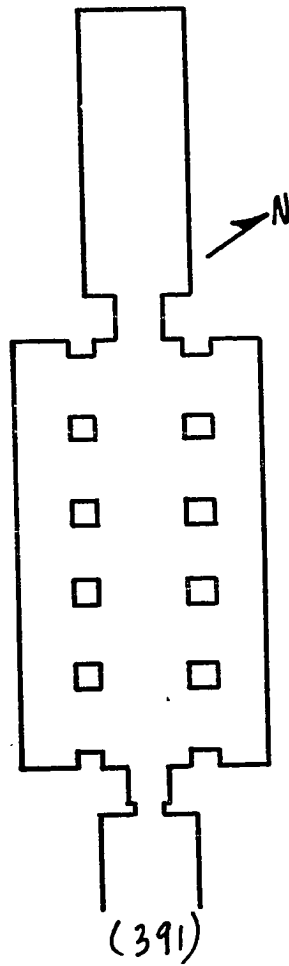


fig. 77

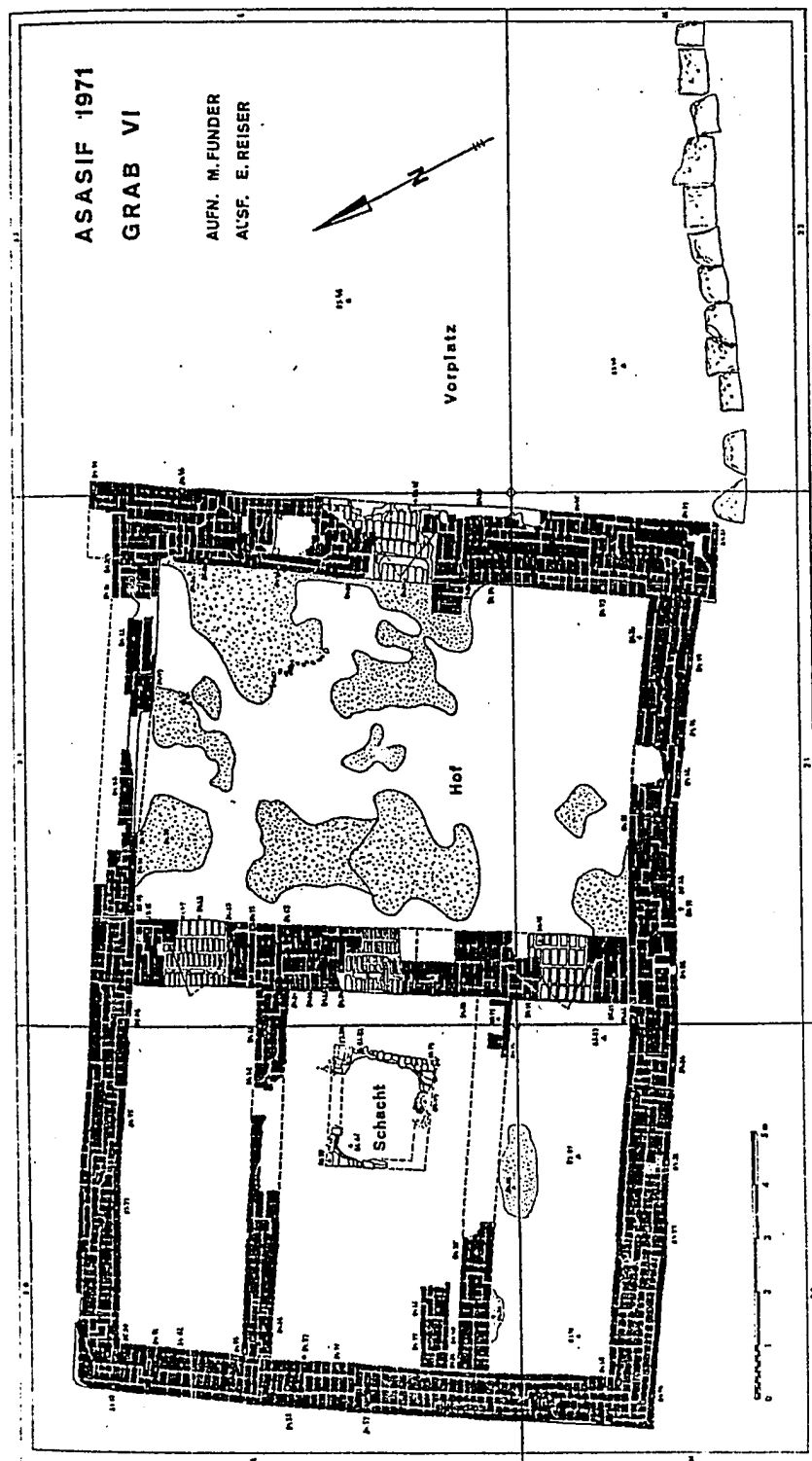


fig. 79

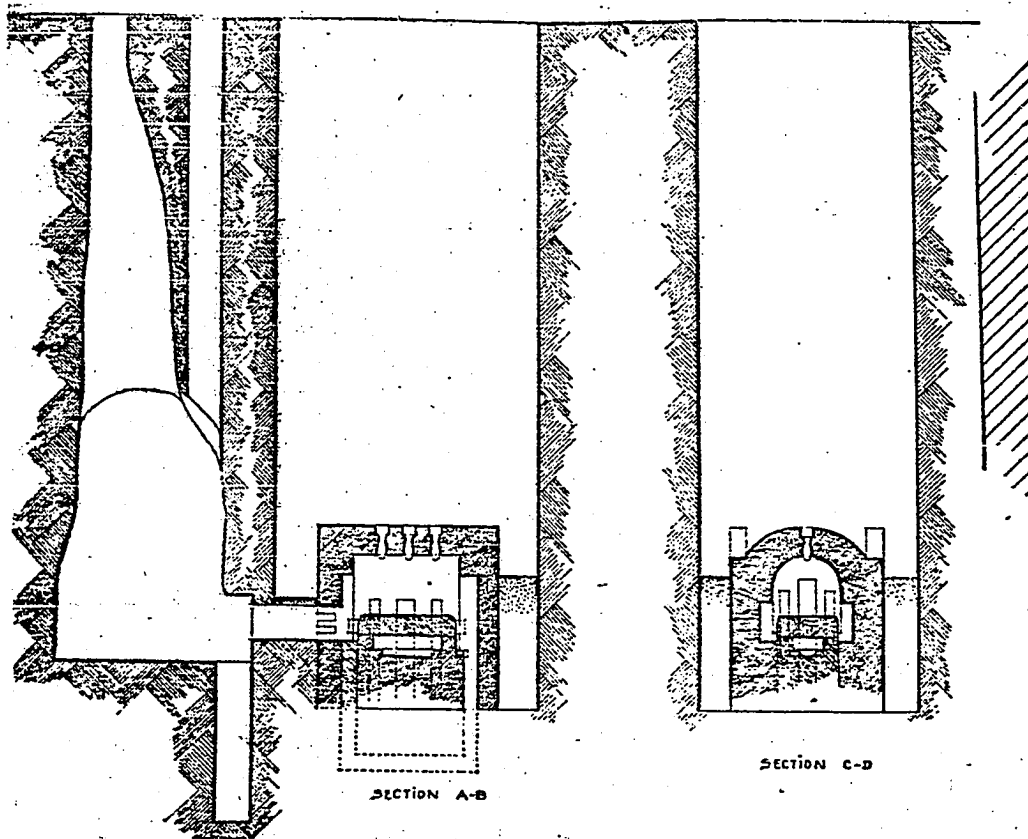


fig. 80

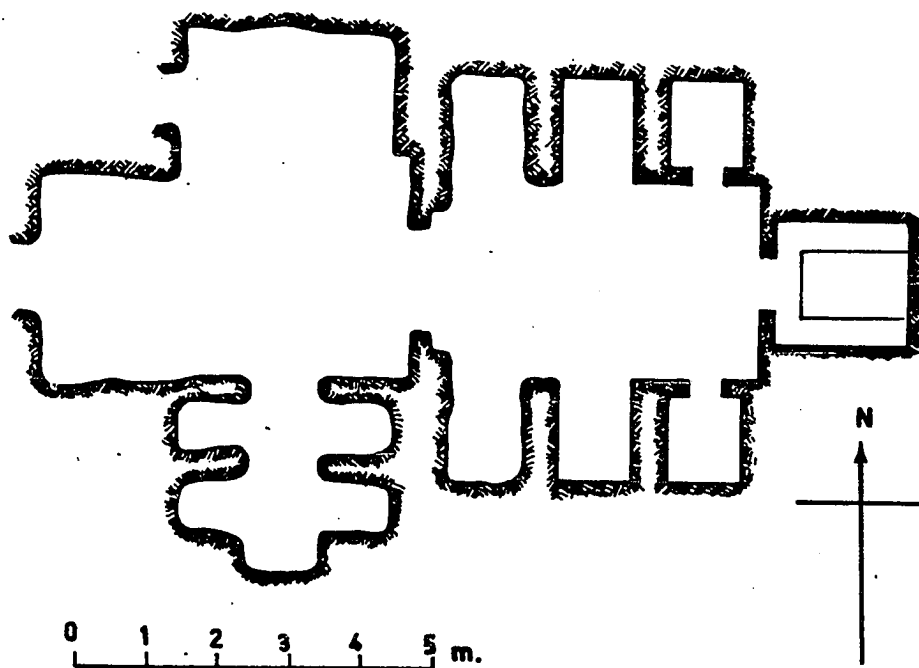


fig. 81

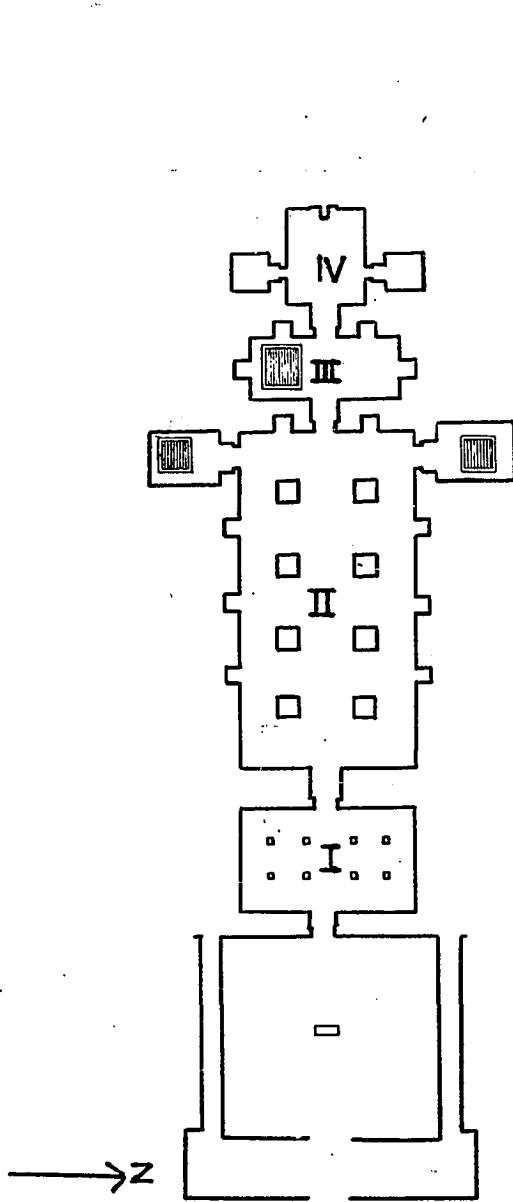


fig. 82

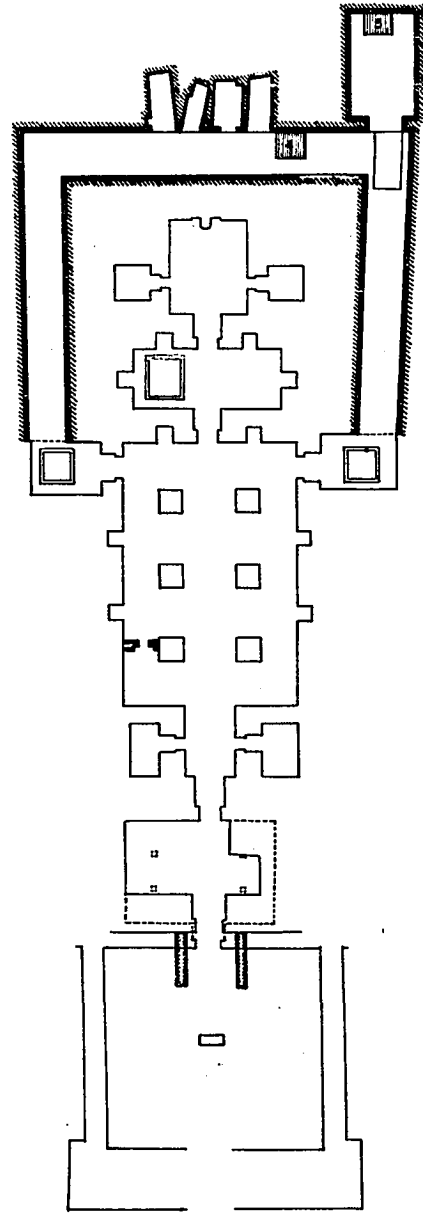


fig. 83

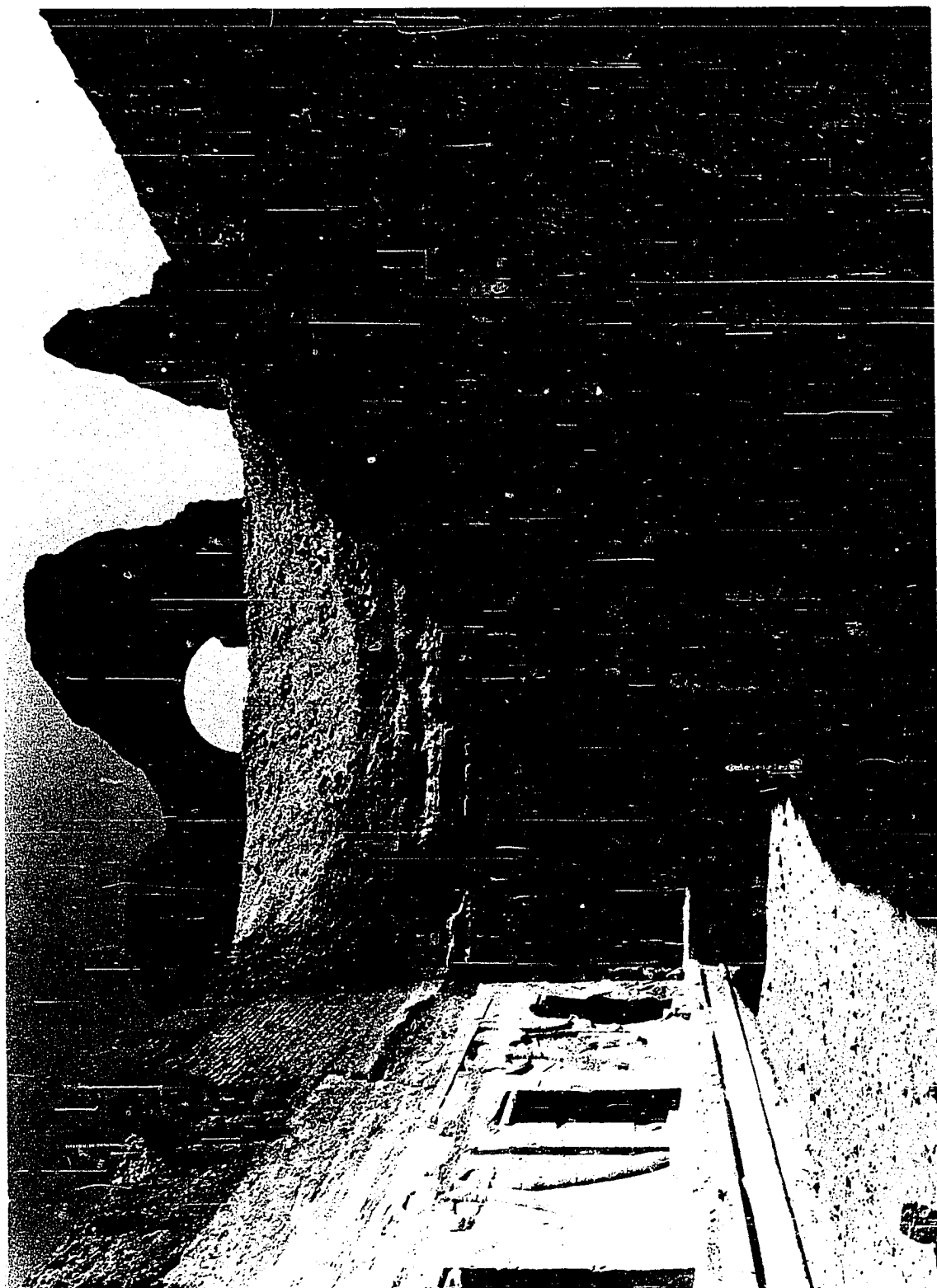


fig. 84

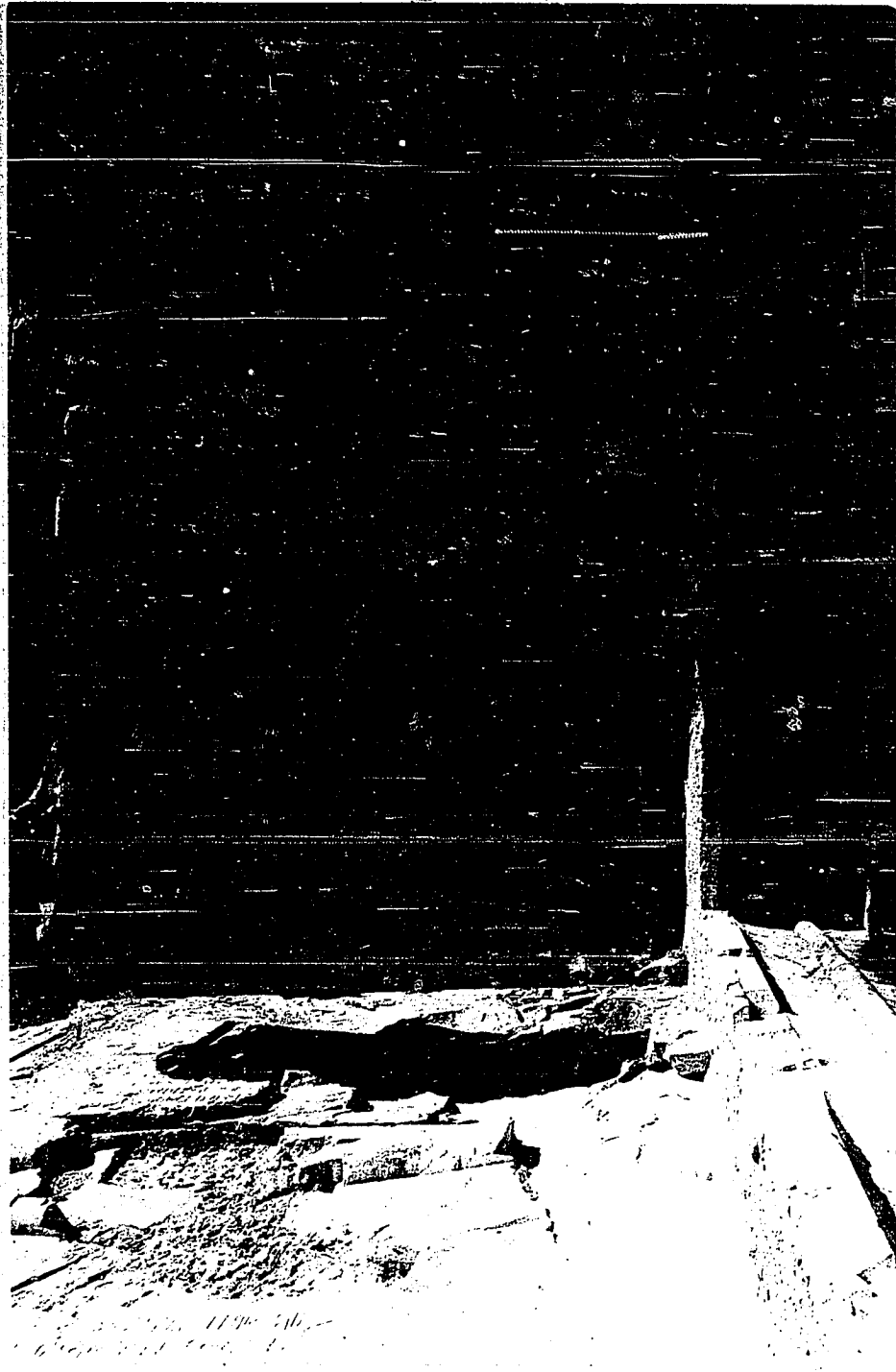


fig. 85

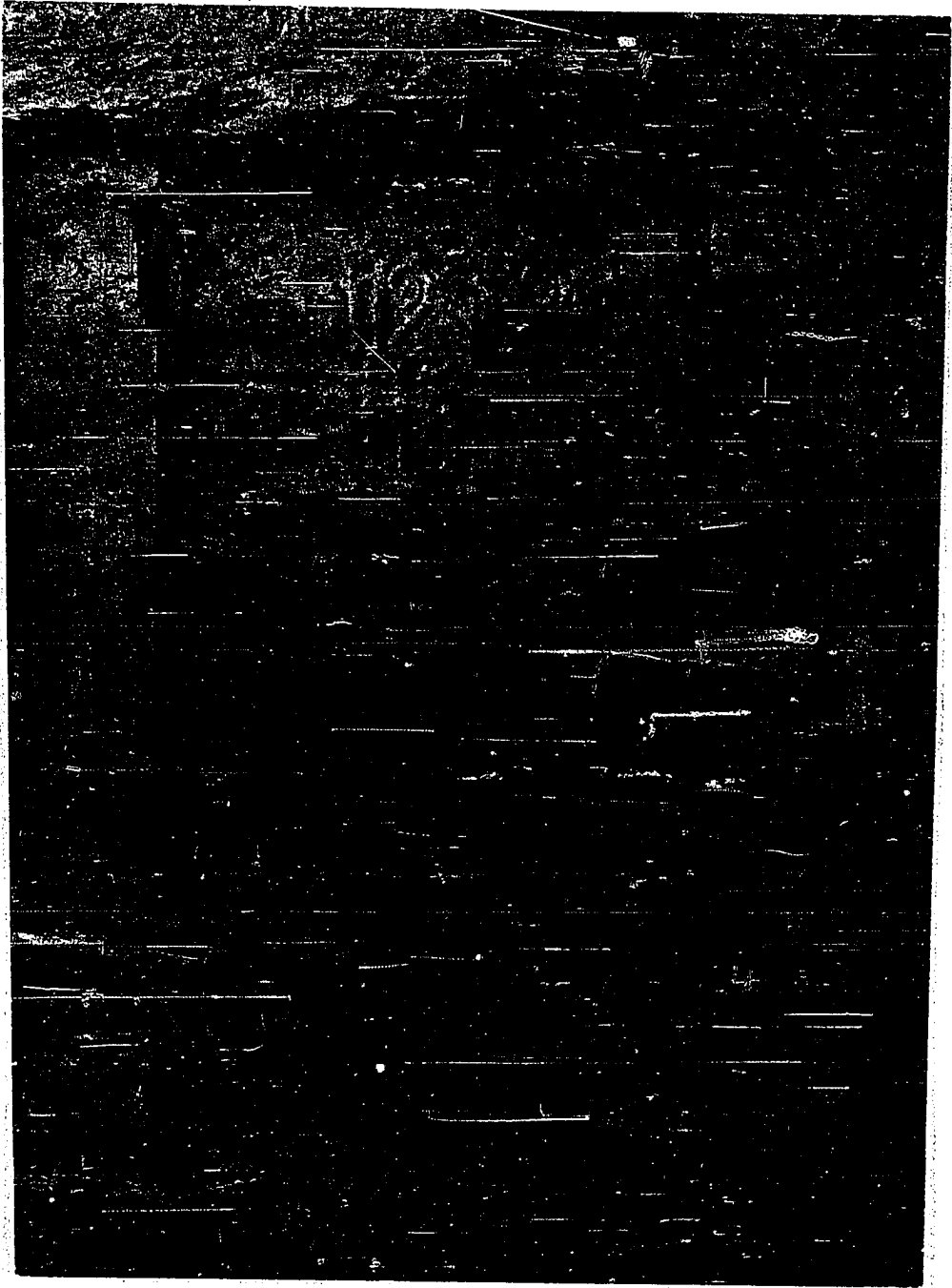


fig. 86

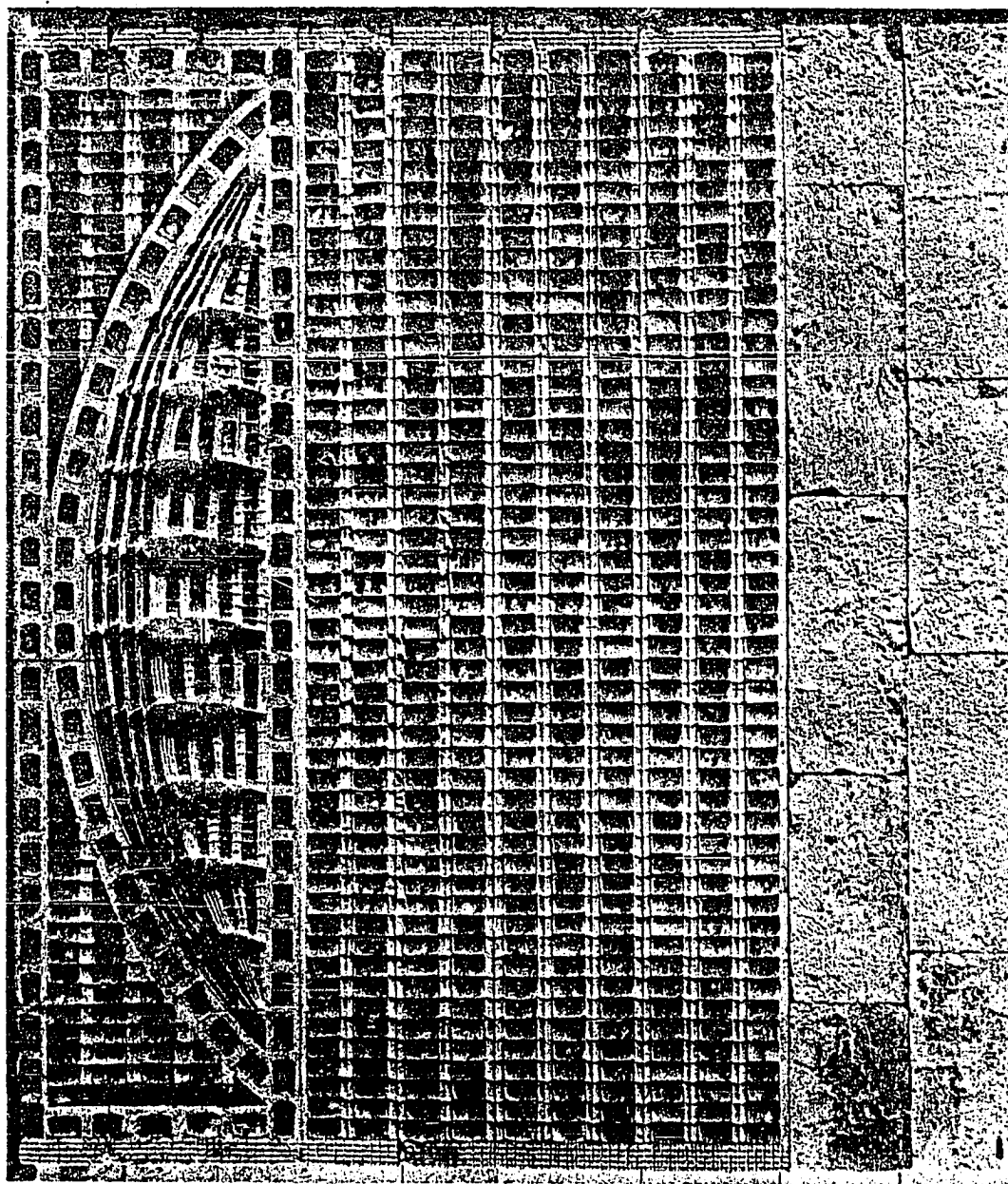


fig. 87

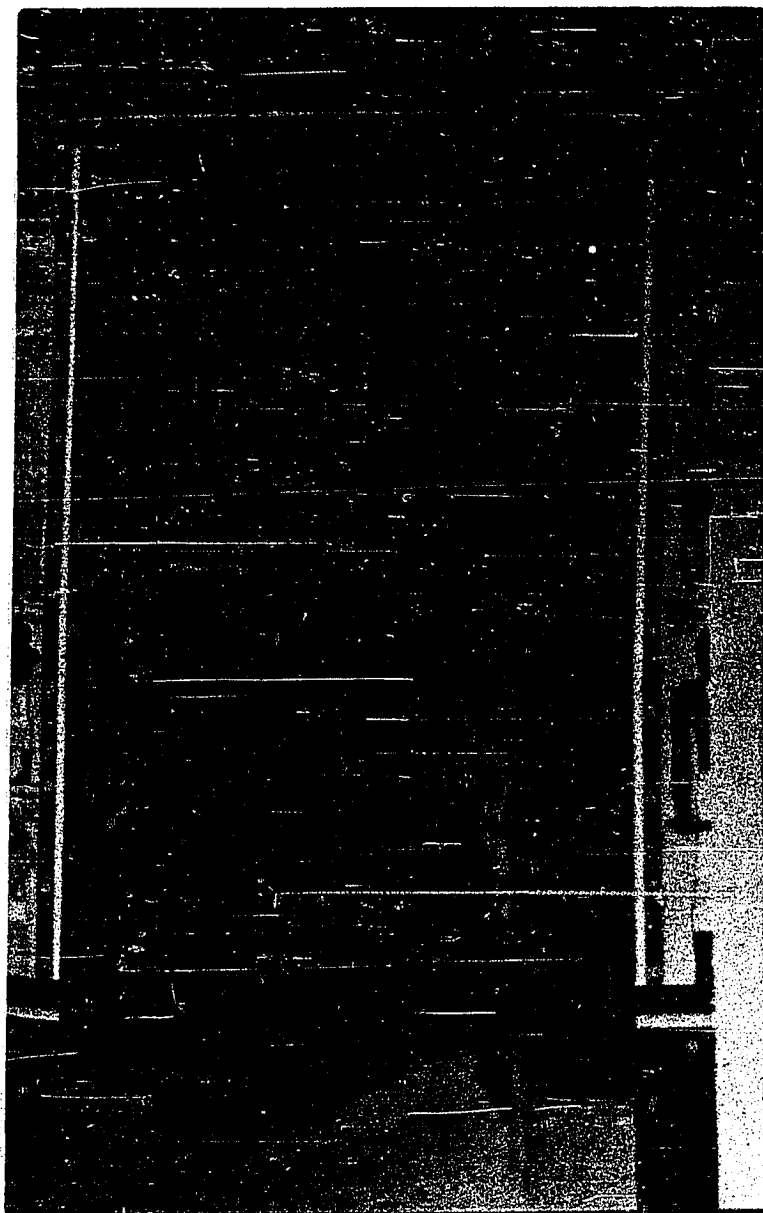


fig. 88

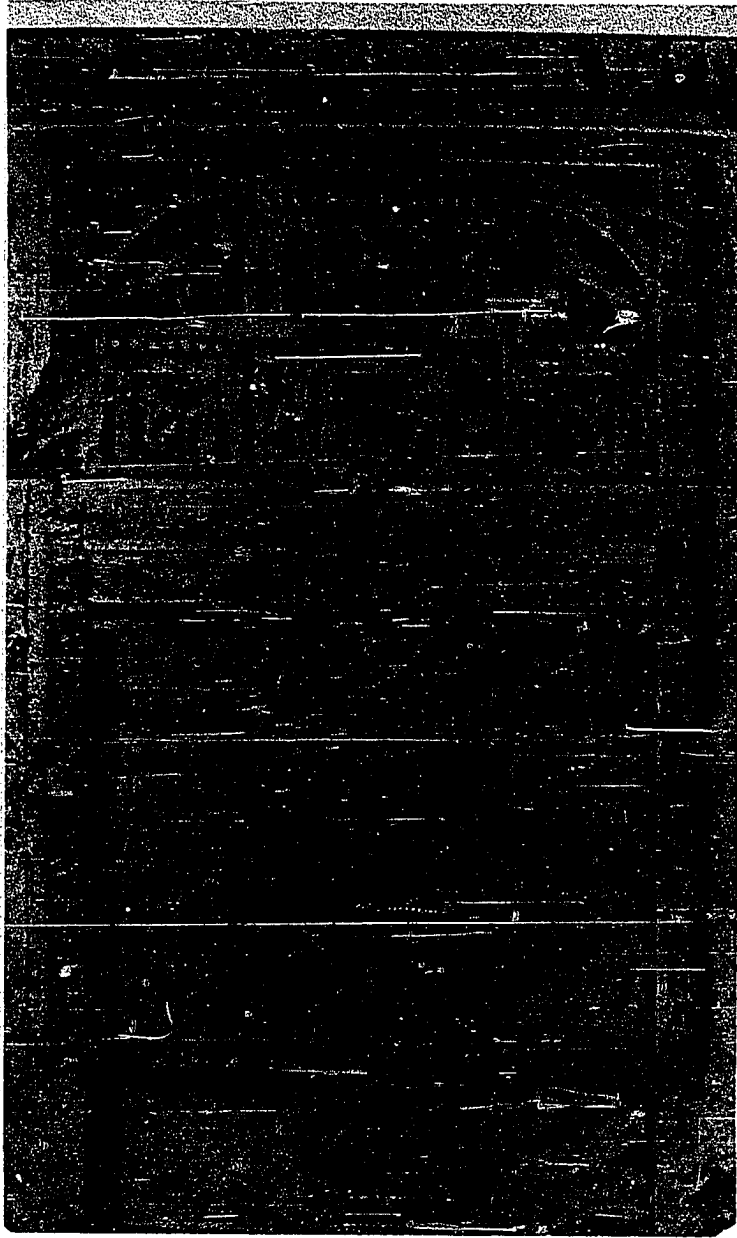


fig. 89

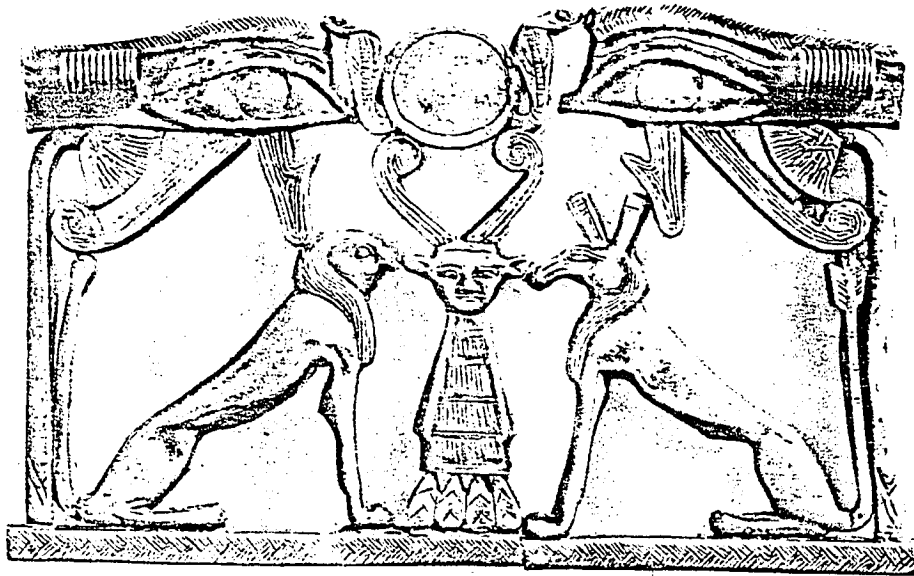


fig. 90



fig. 91



fig. 92

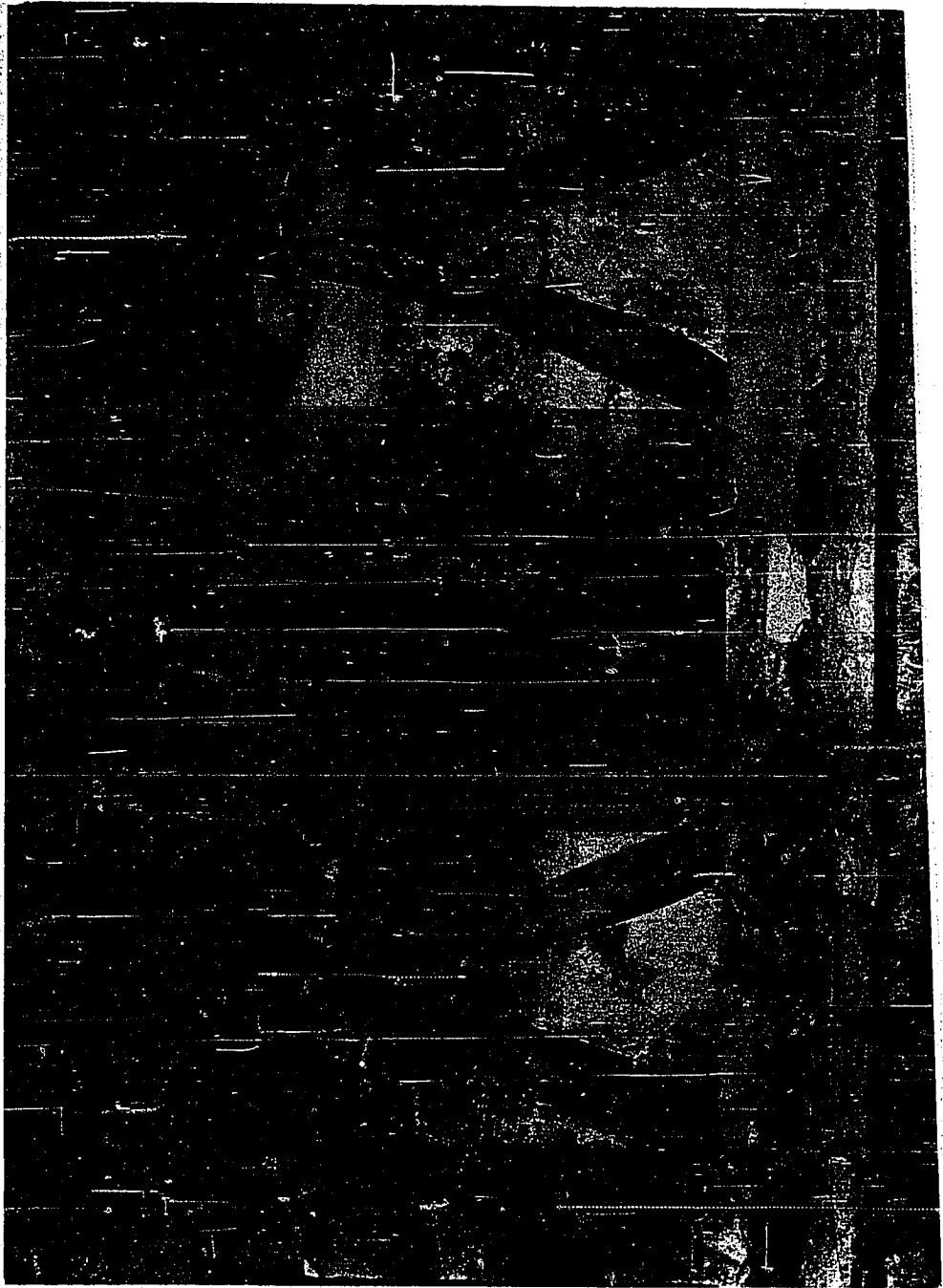


fig. 93

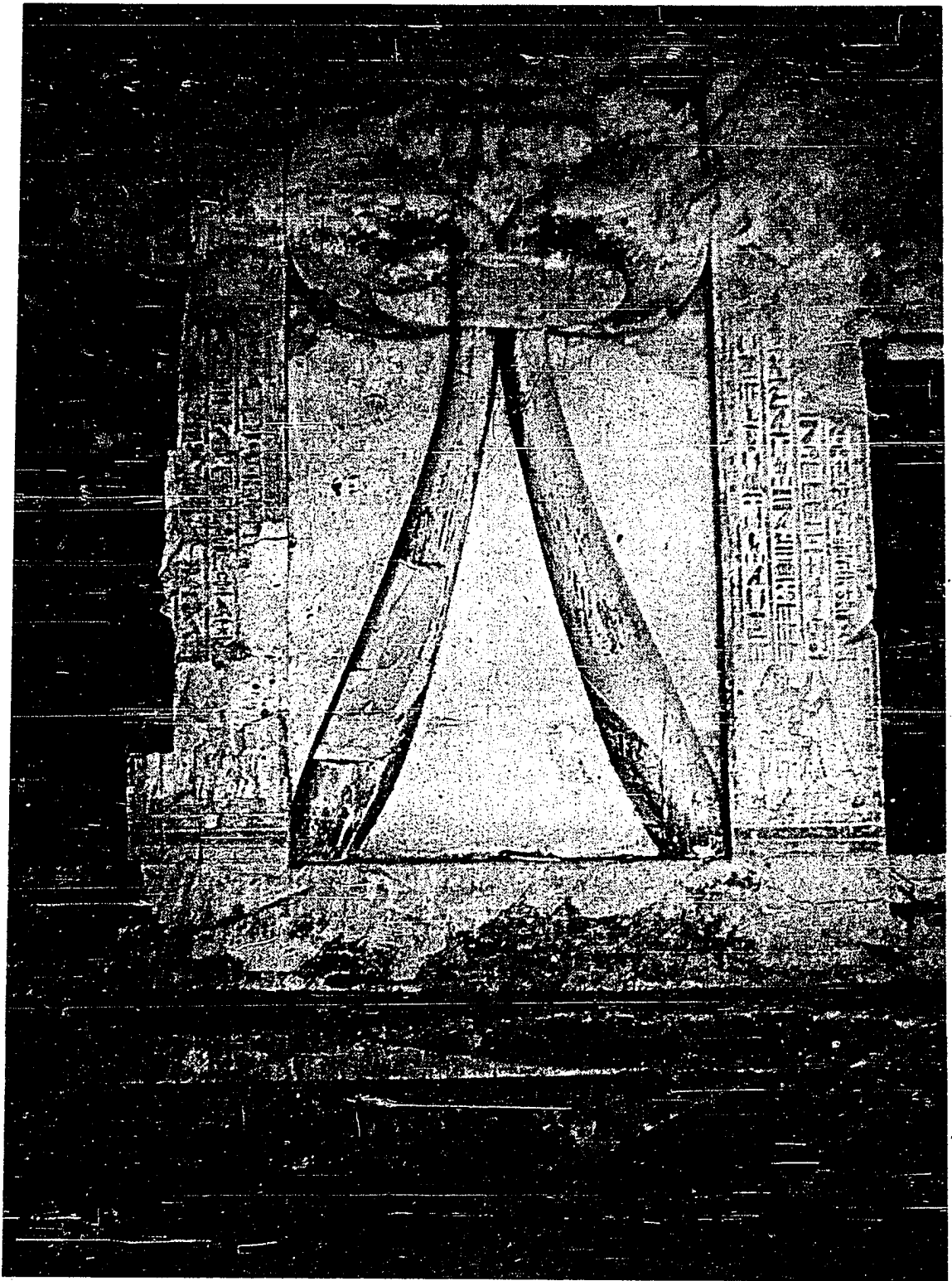


fig. 94

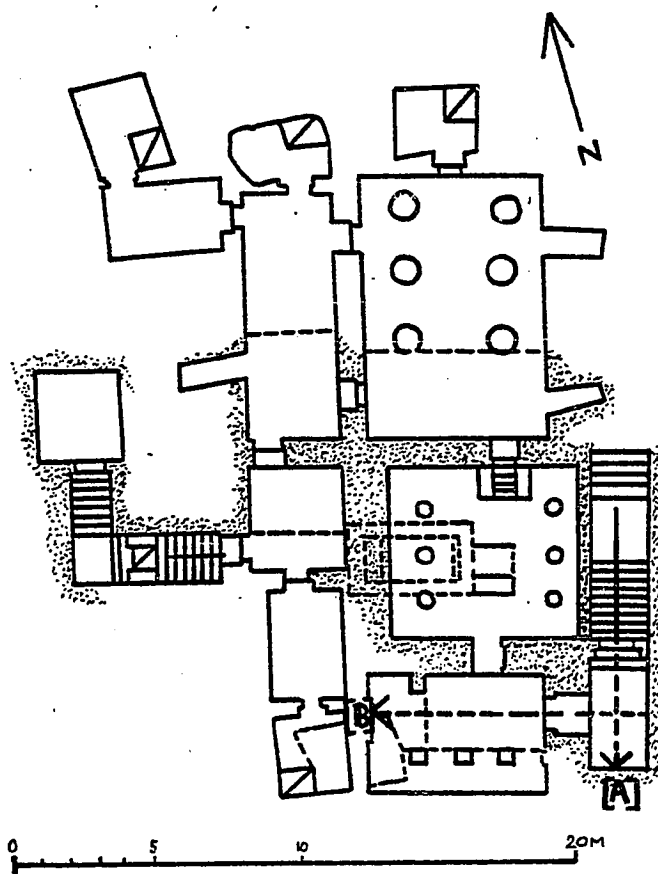


fig. 95

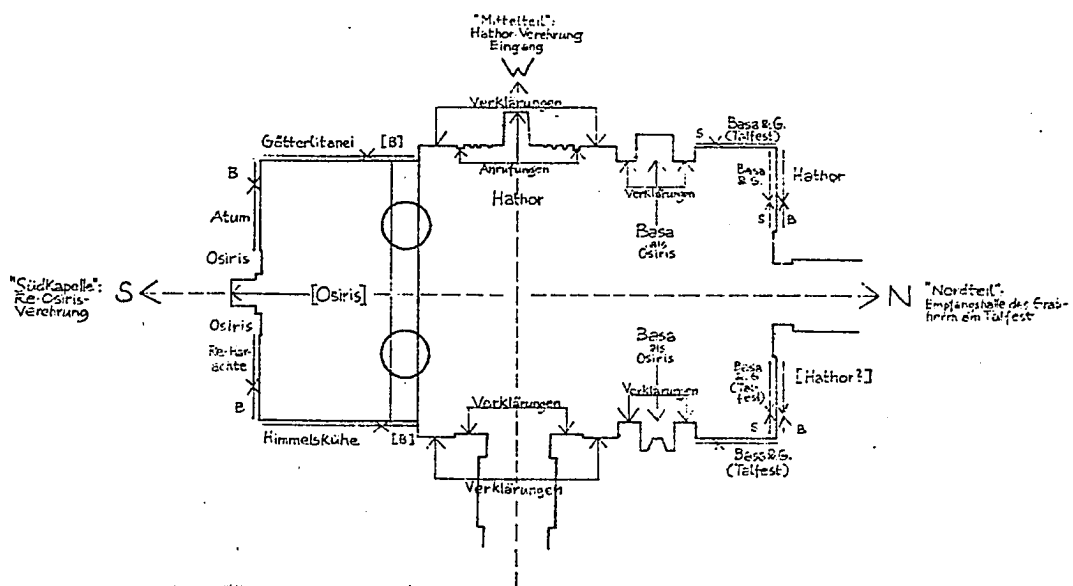


fig. 96

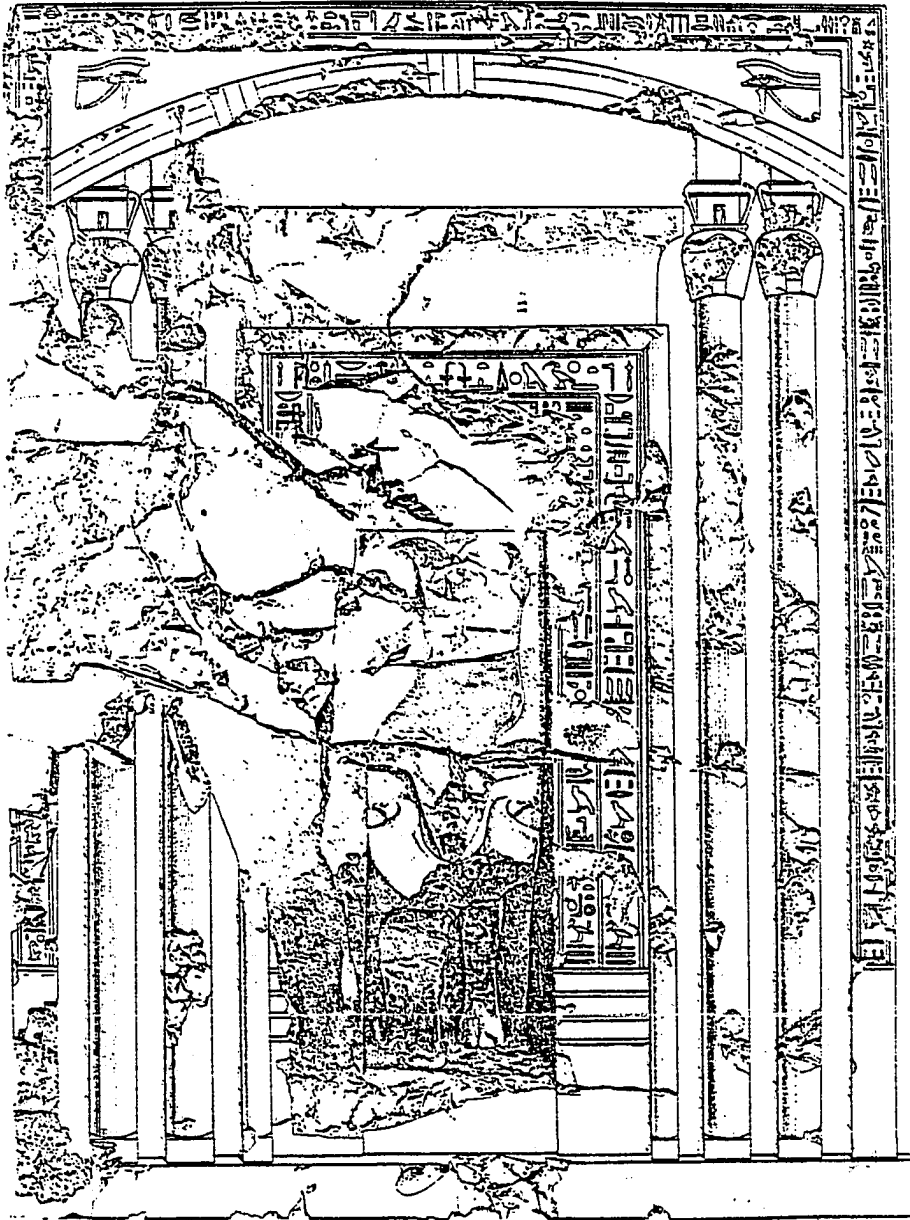


fig. 97

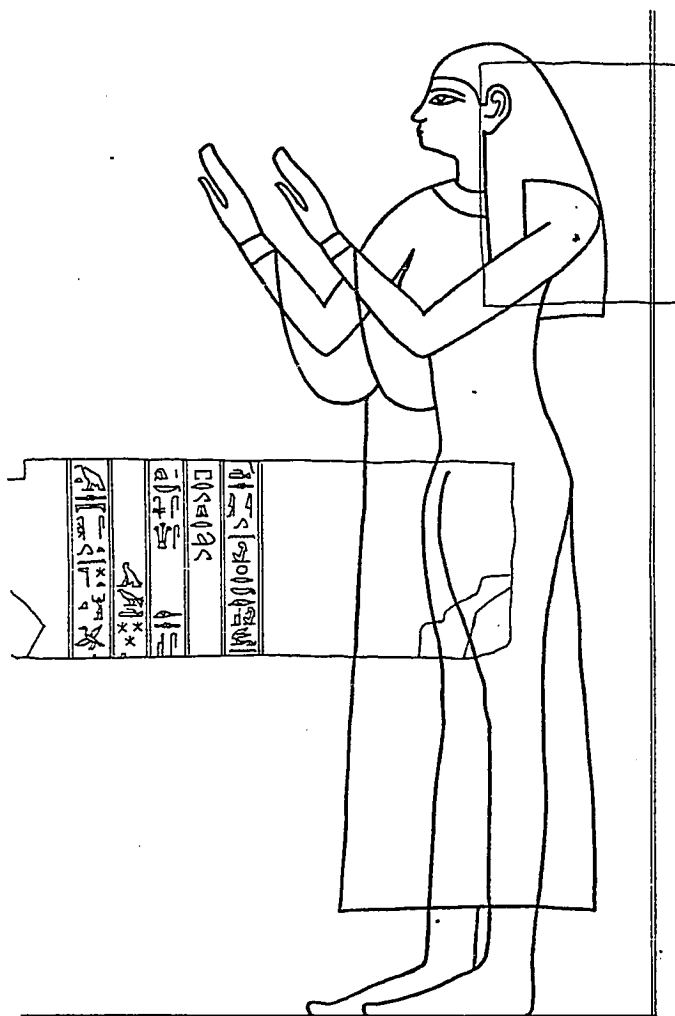


fig. 98

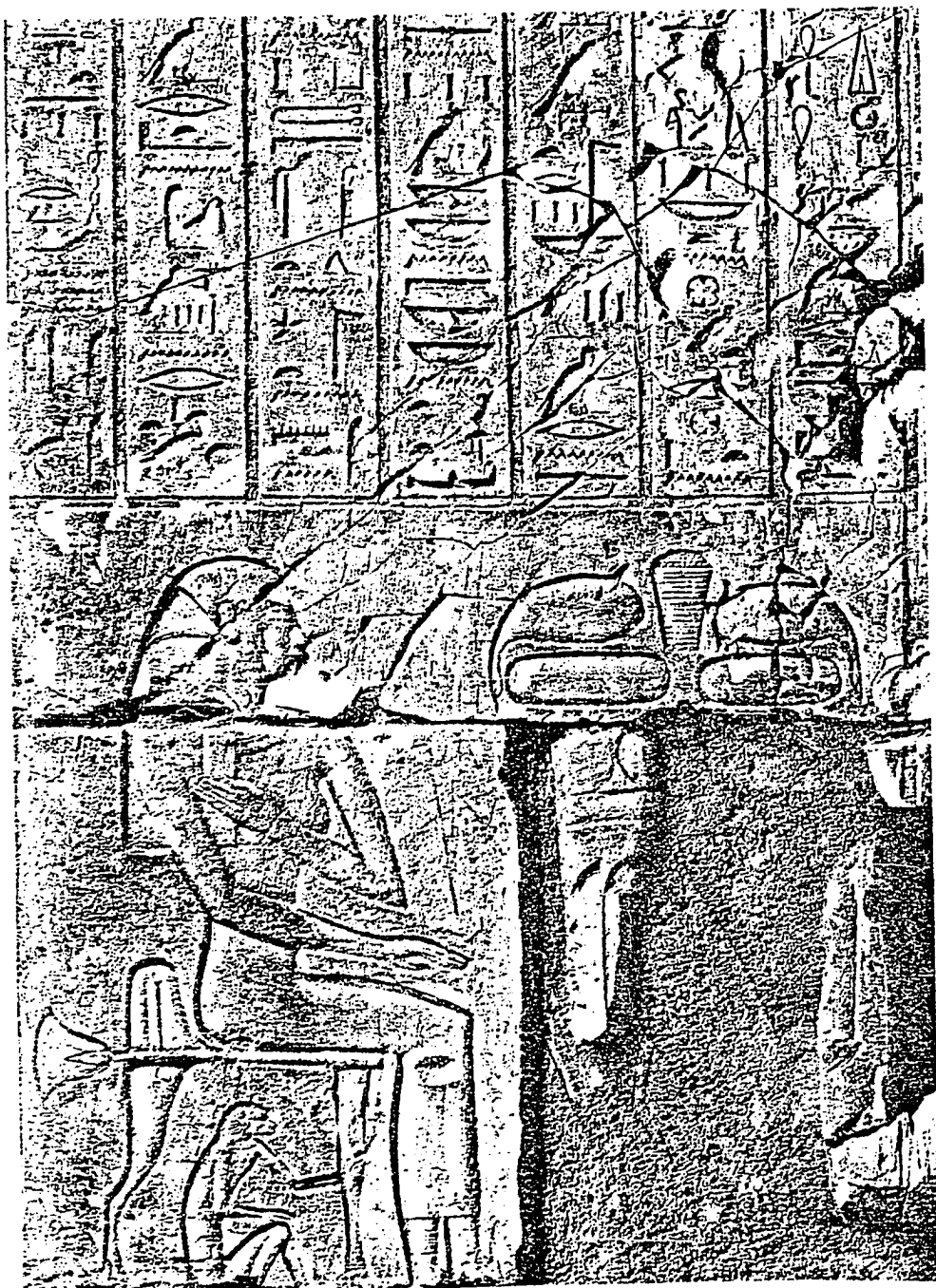


fig. 99



fig. 100

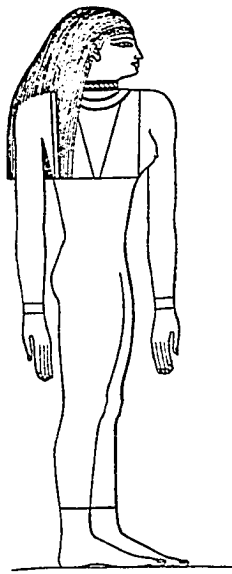


fig. 101

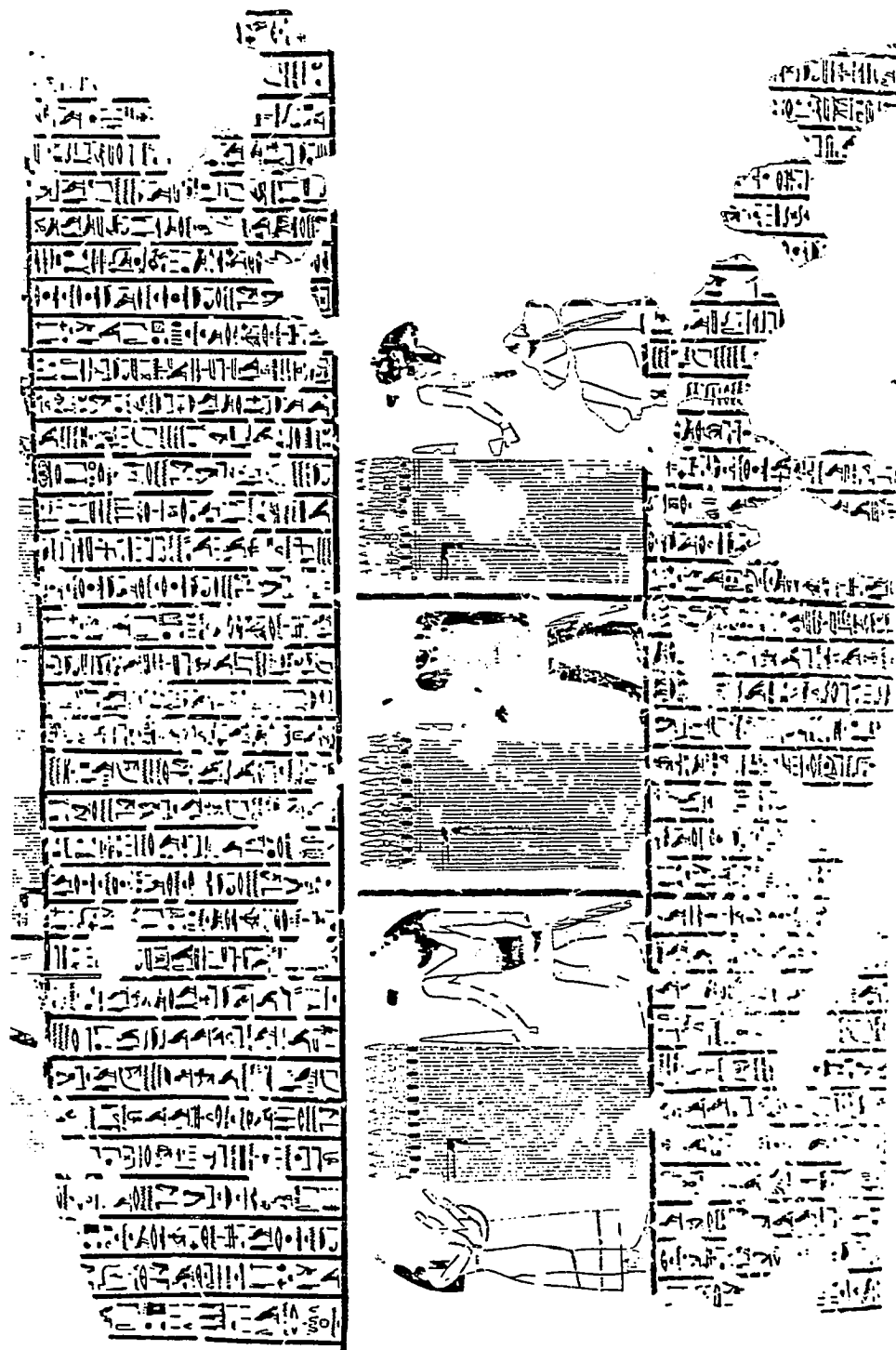


fig. 102



fig. 103

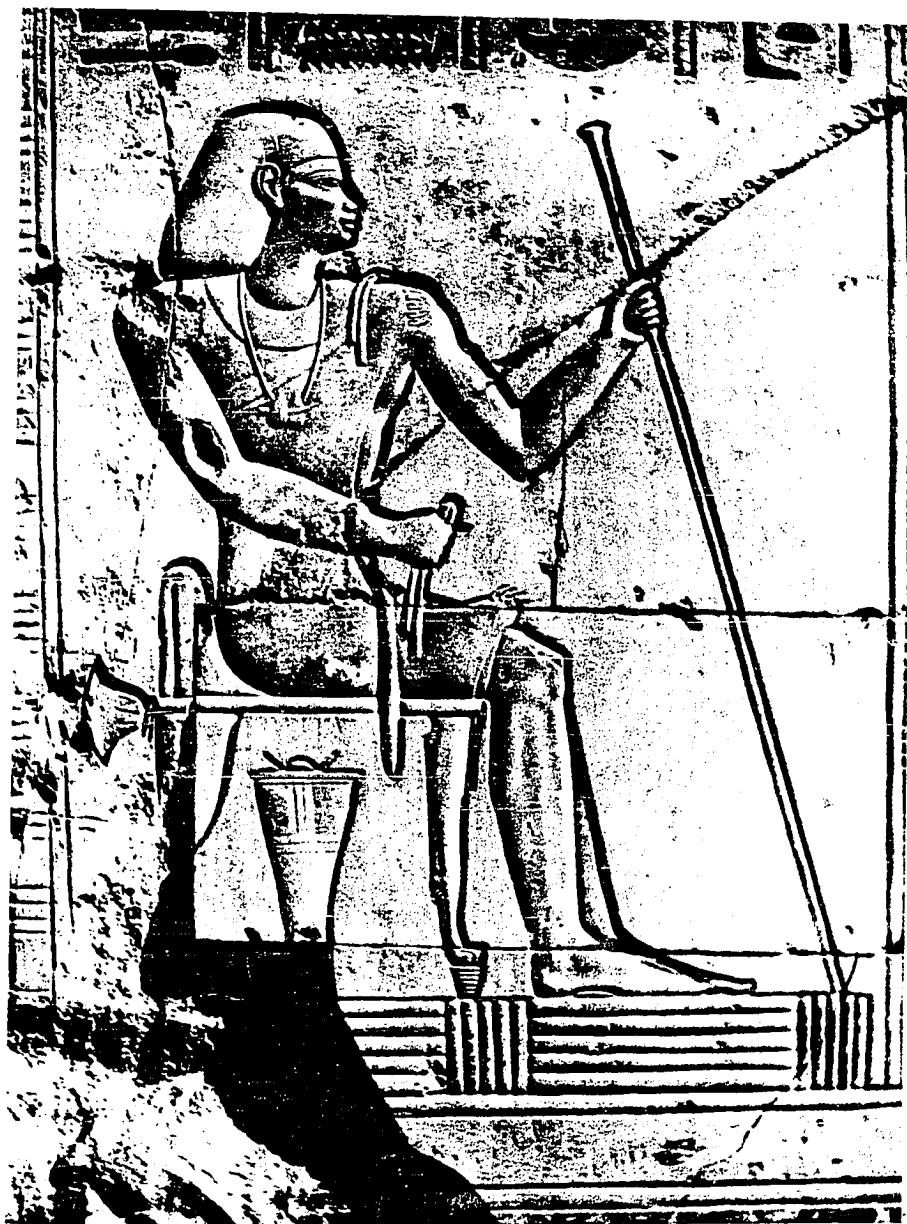


fig. 104

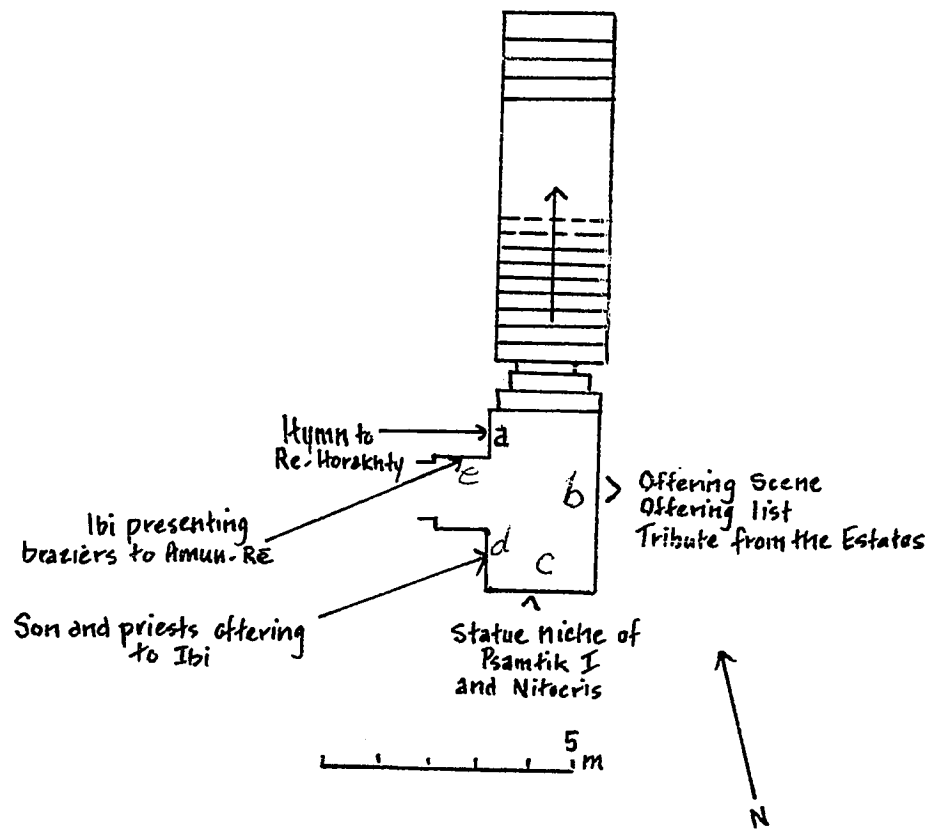


fig. 105



fig. 106

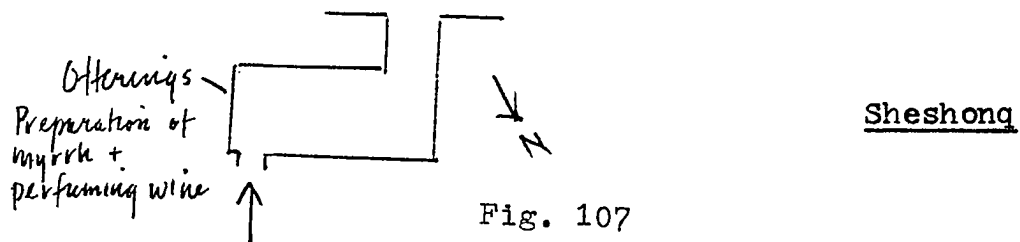
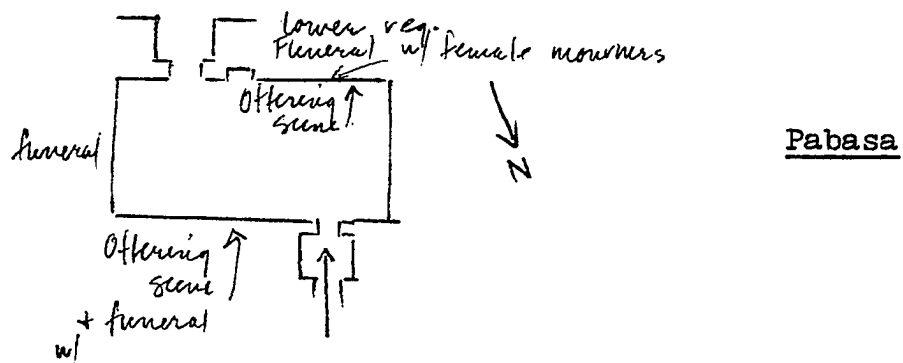
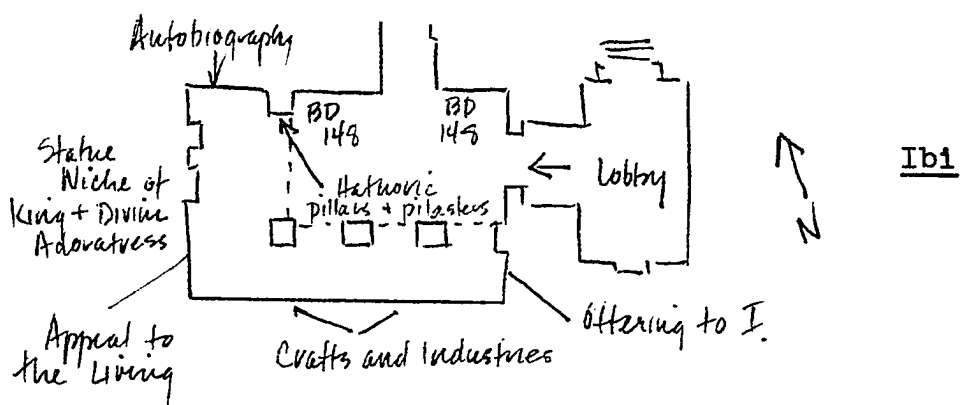
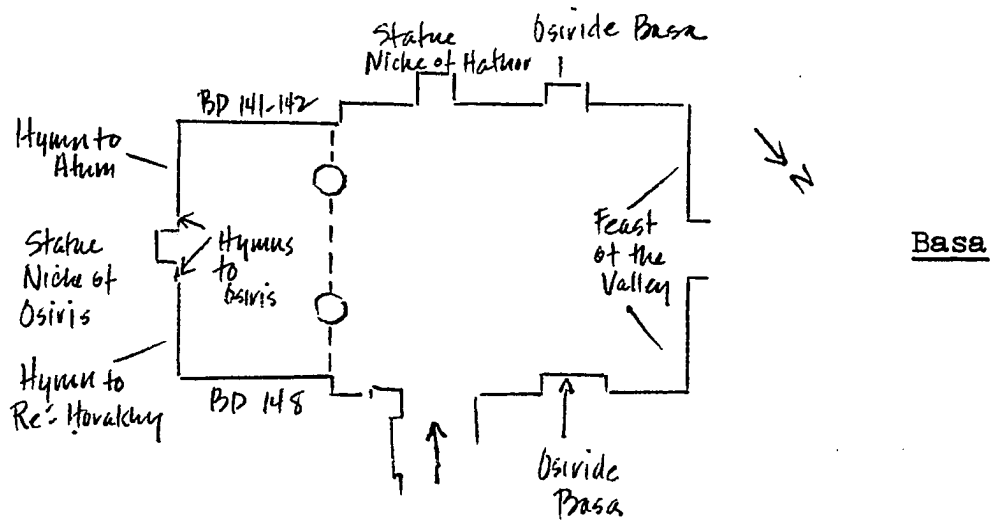


Fig. 107

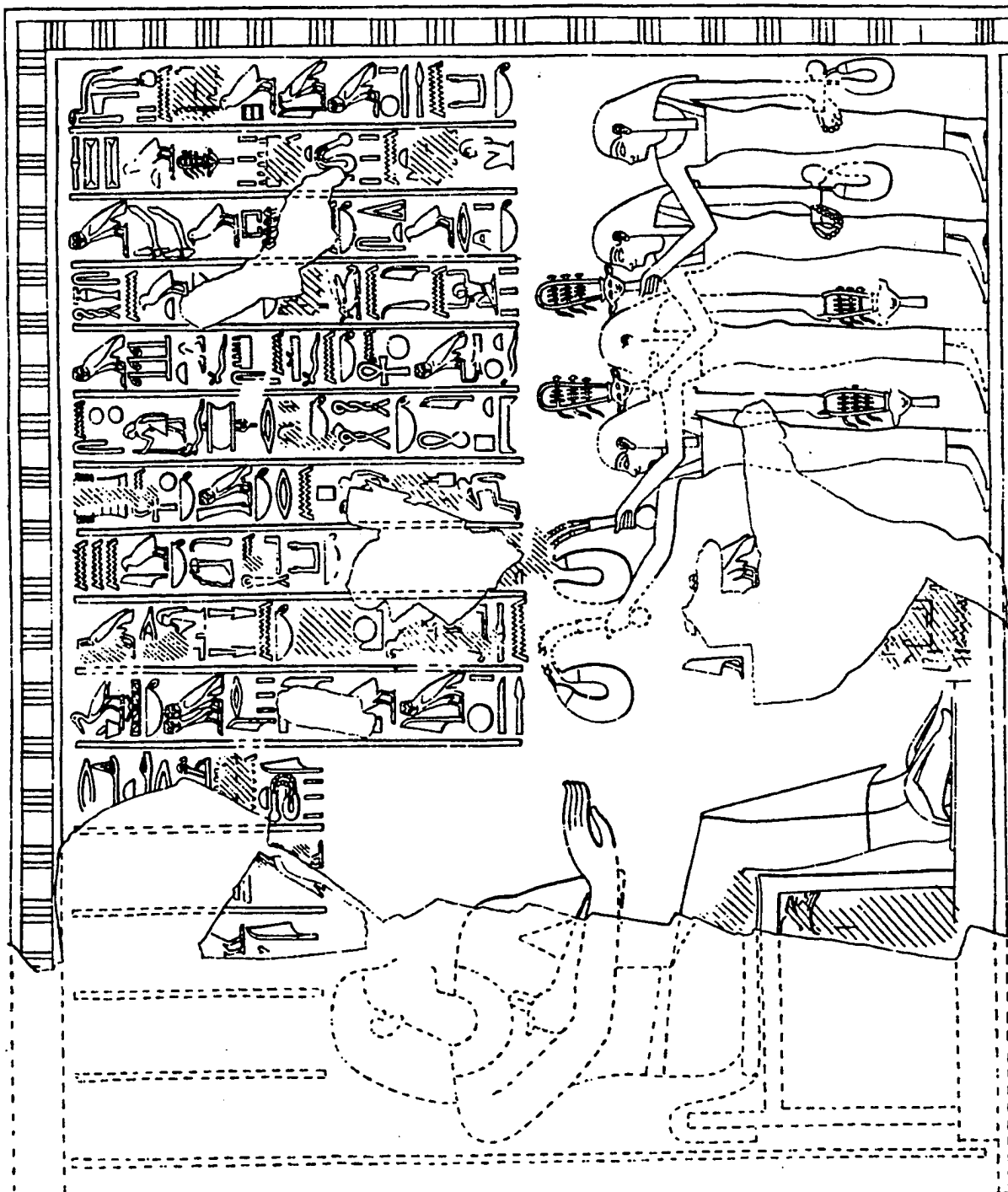


fig. 108

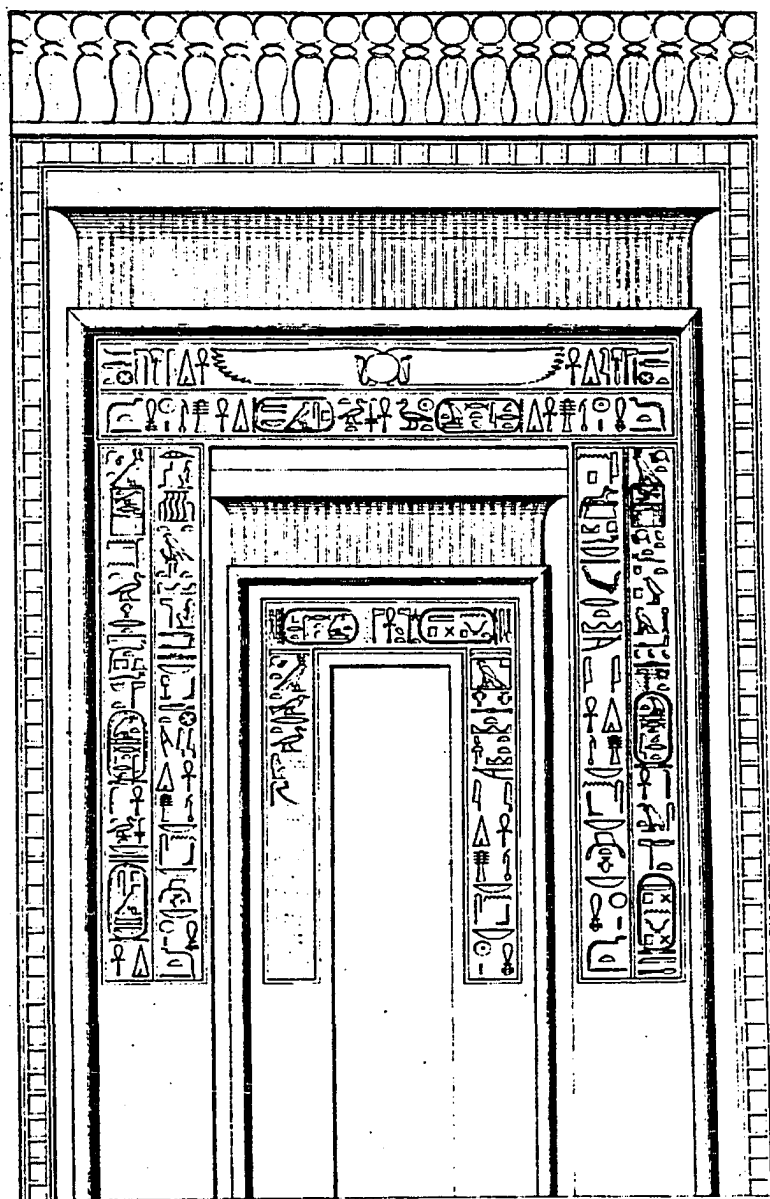


fig. 109



fig. 110



fig. 111



fig. 112

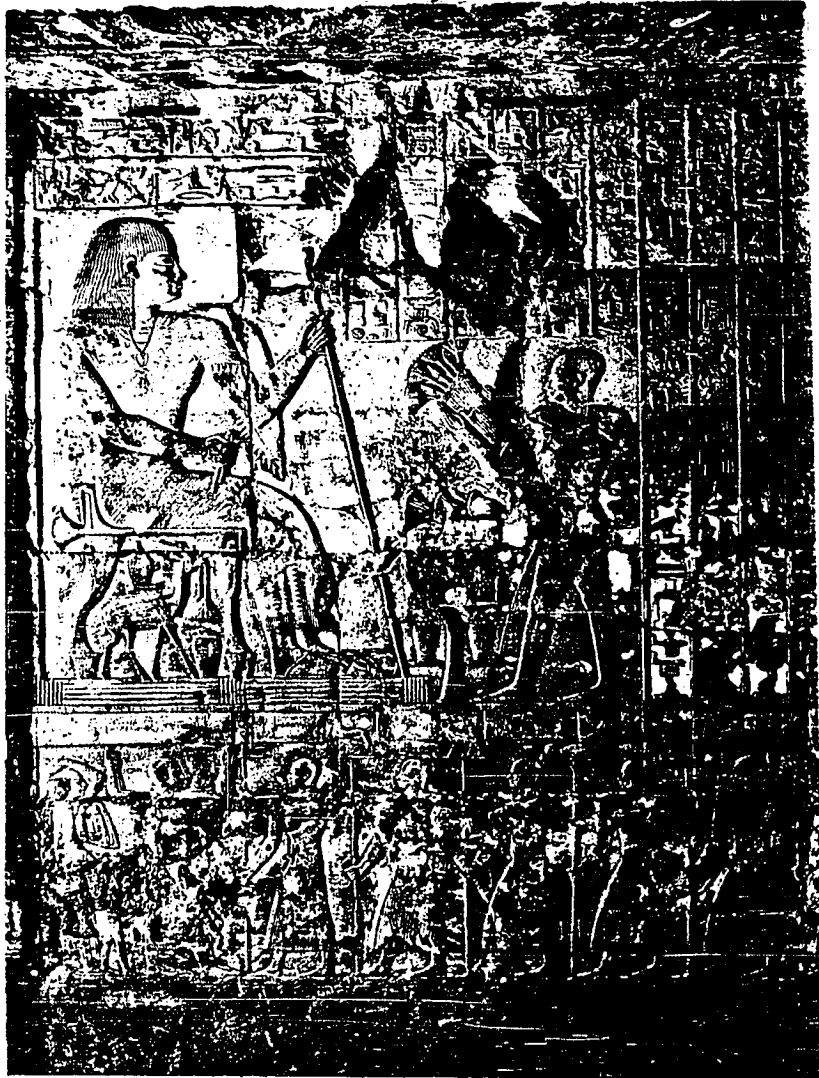


fig. 113



fig. 114



fig. 115



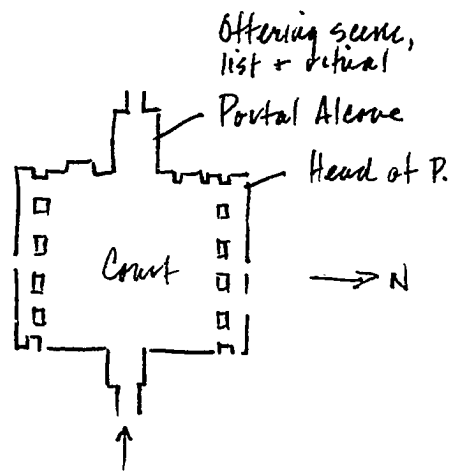
fig. 116



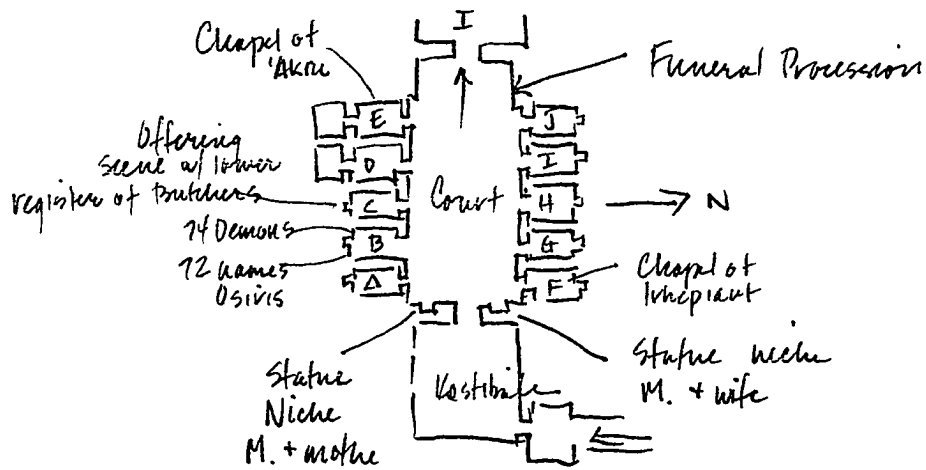
fig. 117



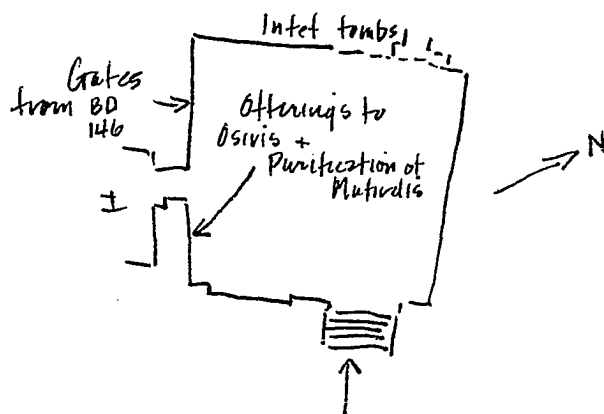
fig. 118



Pedamenopet

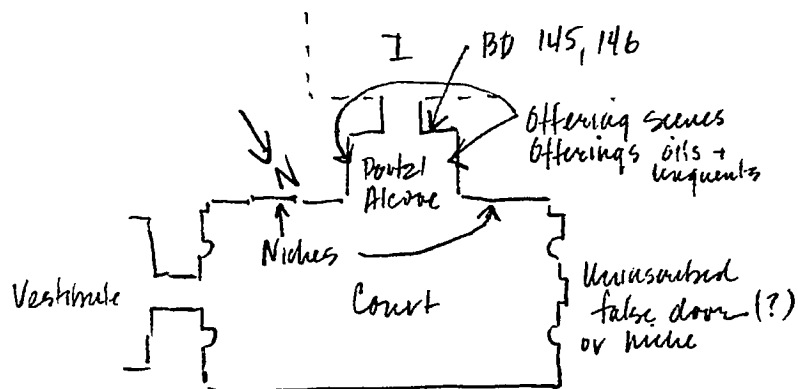


Mentuemhet

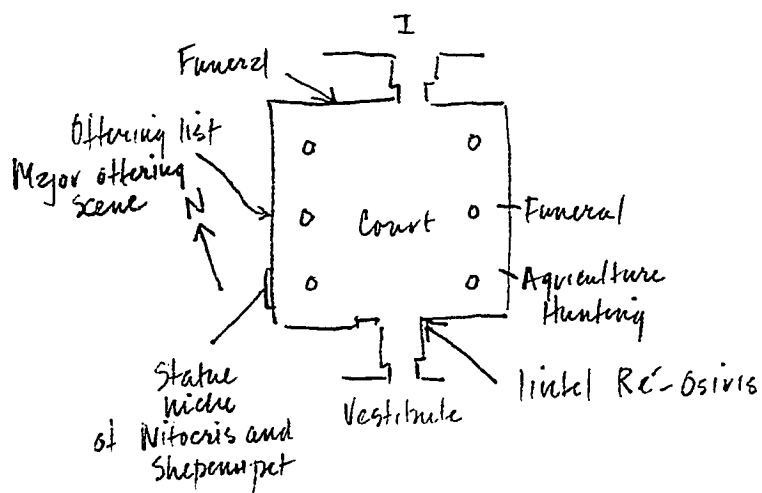


Mutirdis

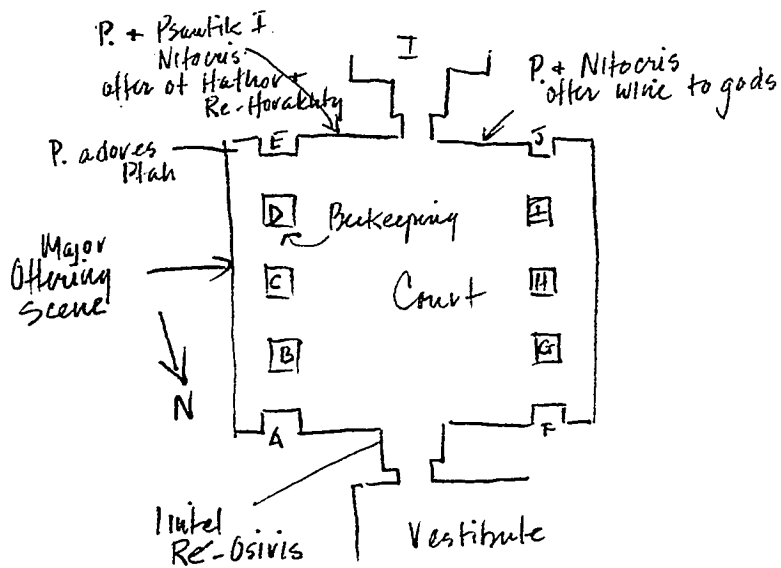
Fig. 119A



Basa



Ib1



Pabasa

Fig. 119B

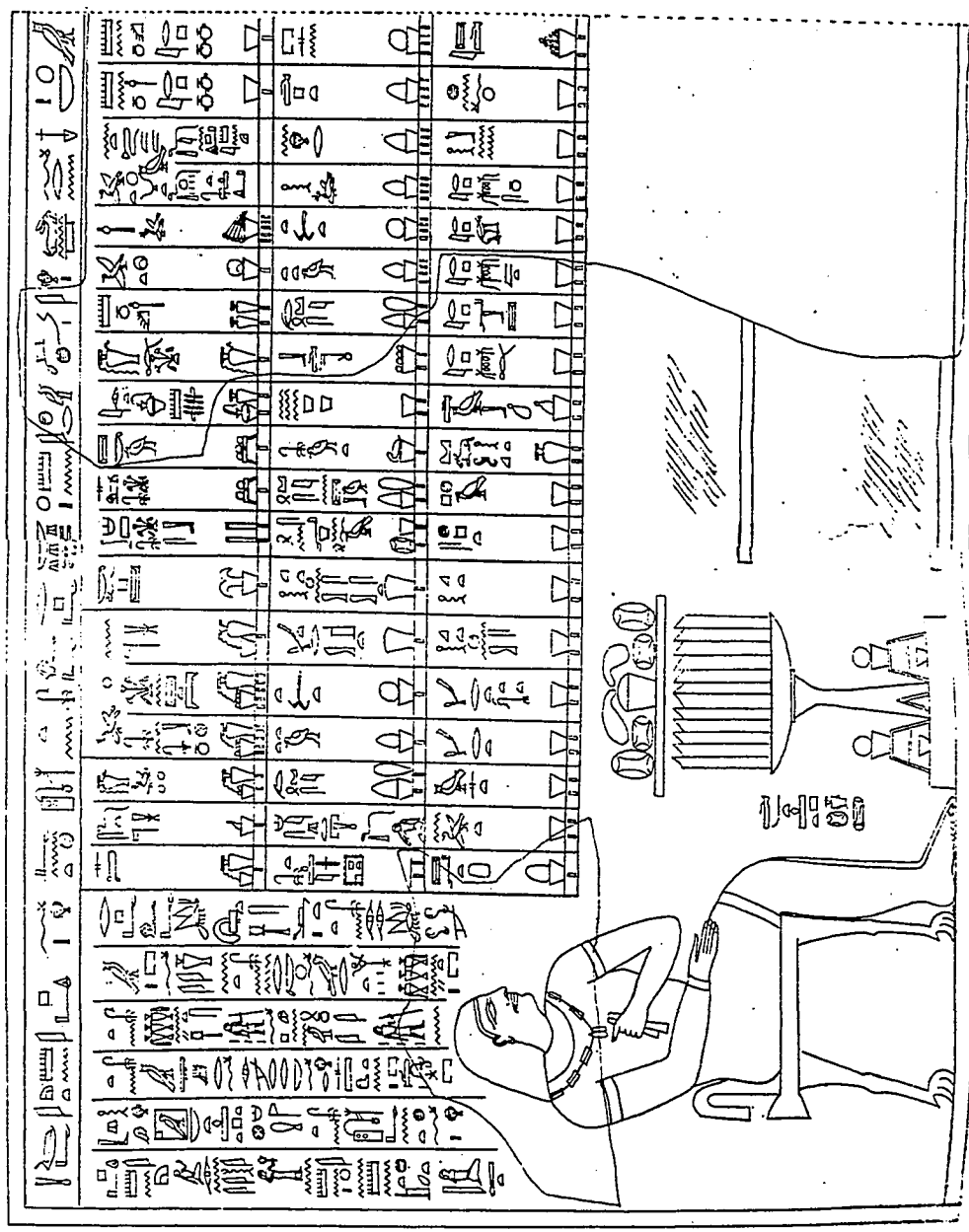


fig. 120A

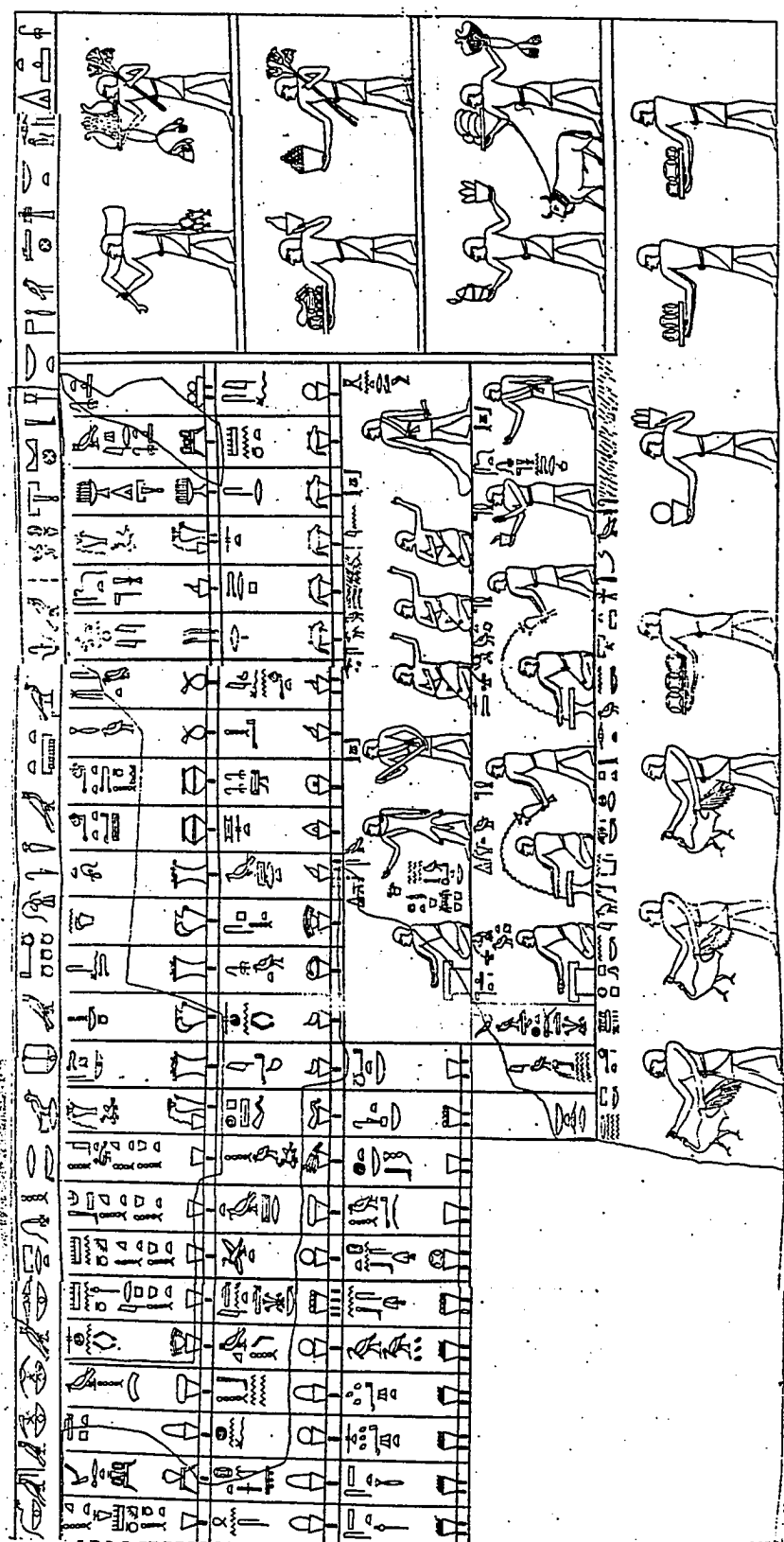


fig.
120B



fig. 121

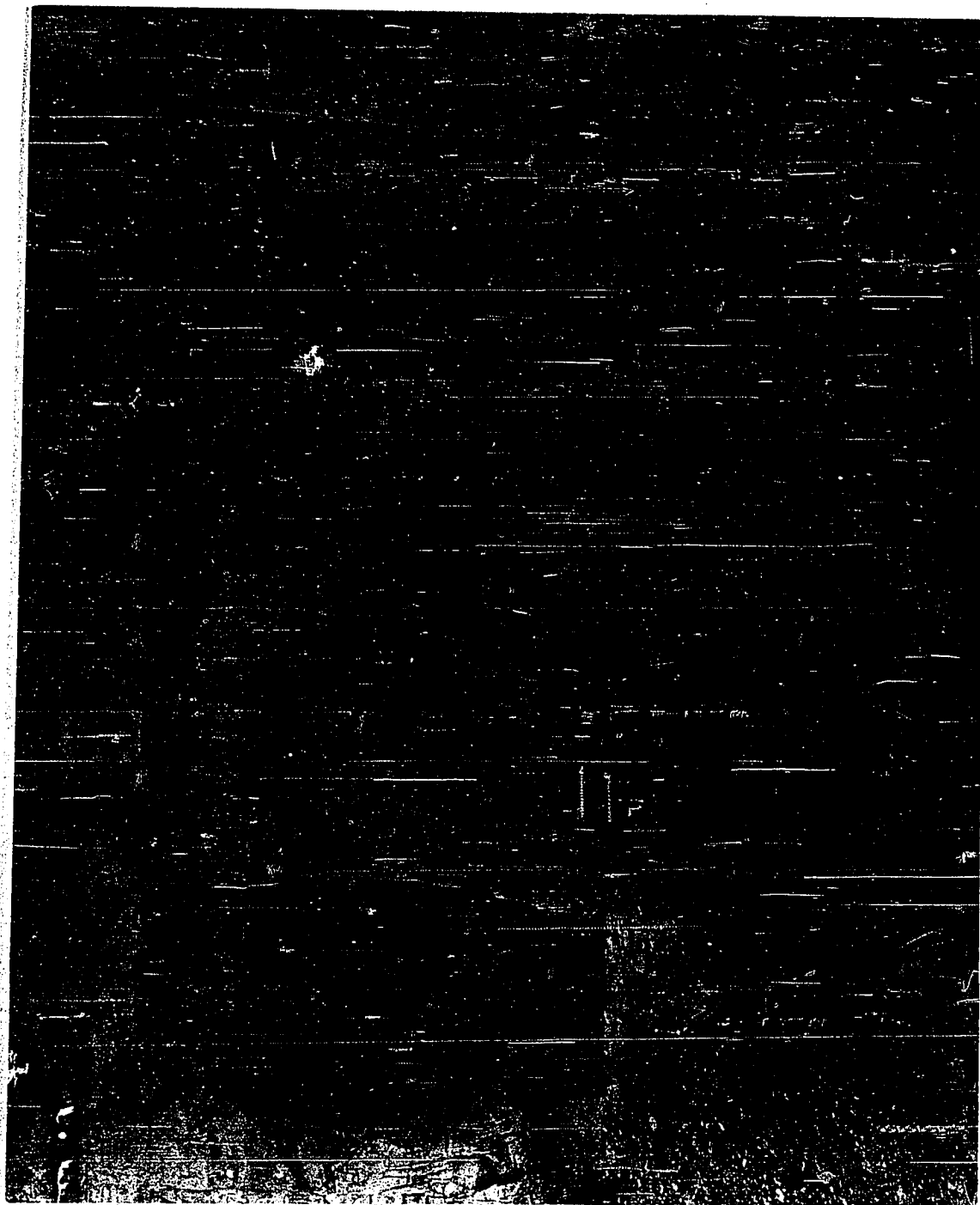


fig. 122

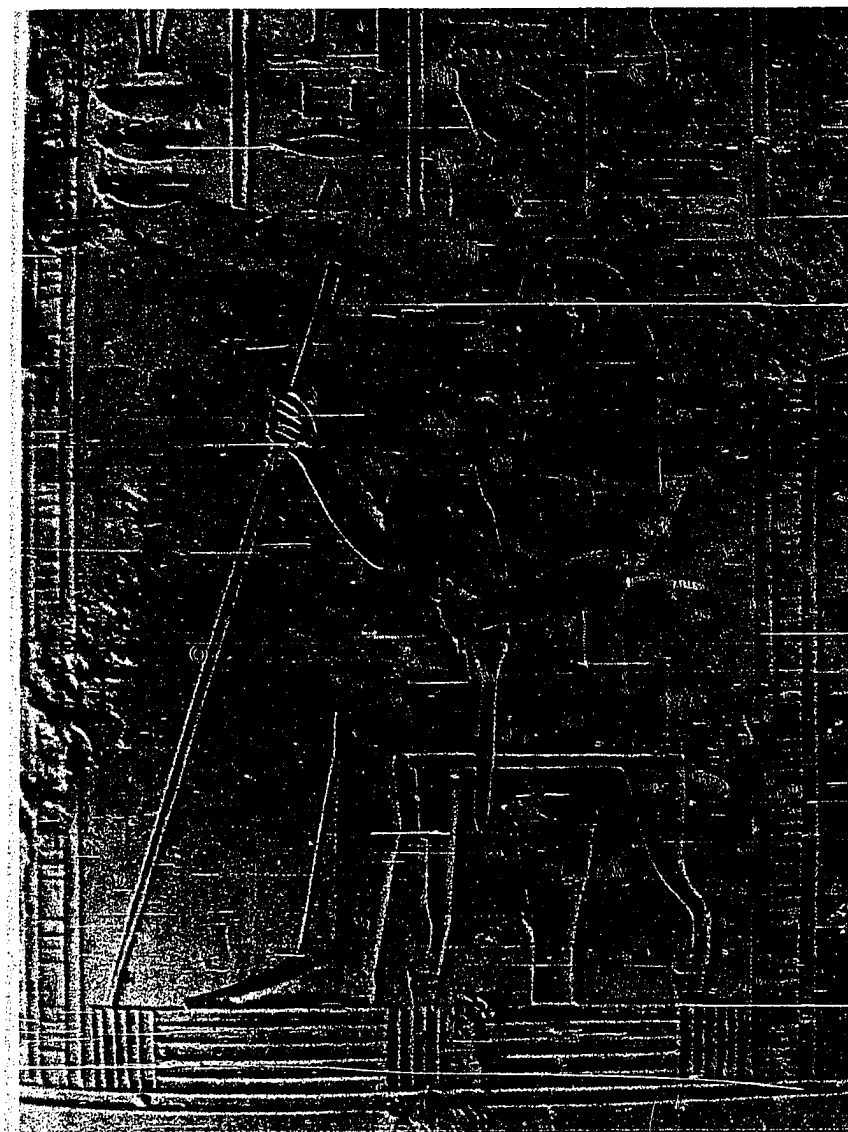


fig. 123

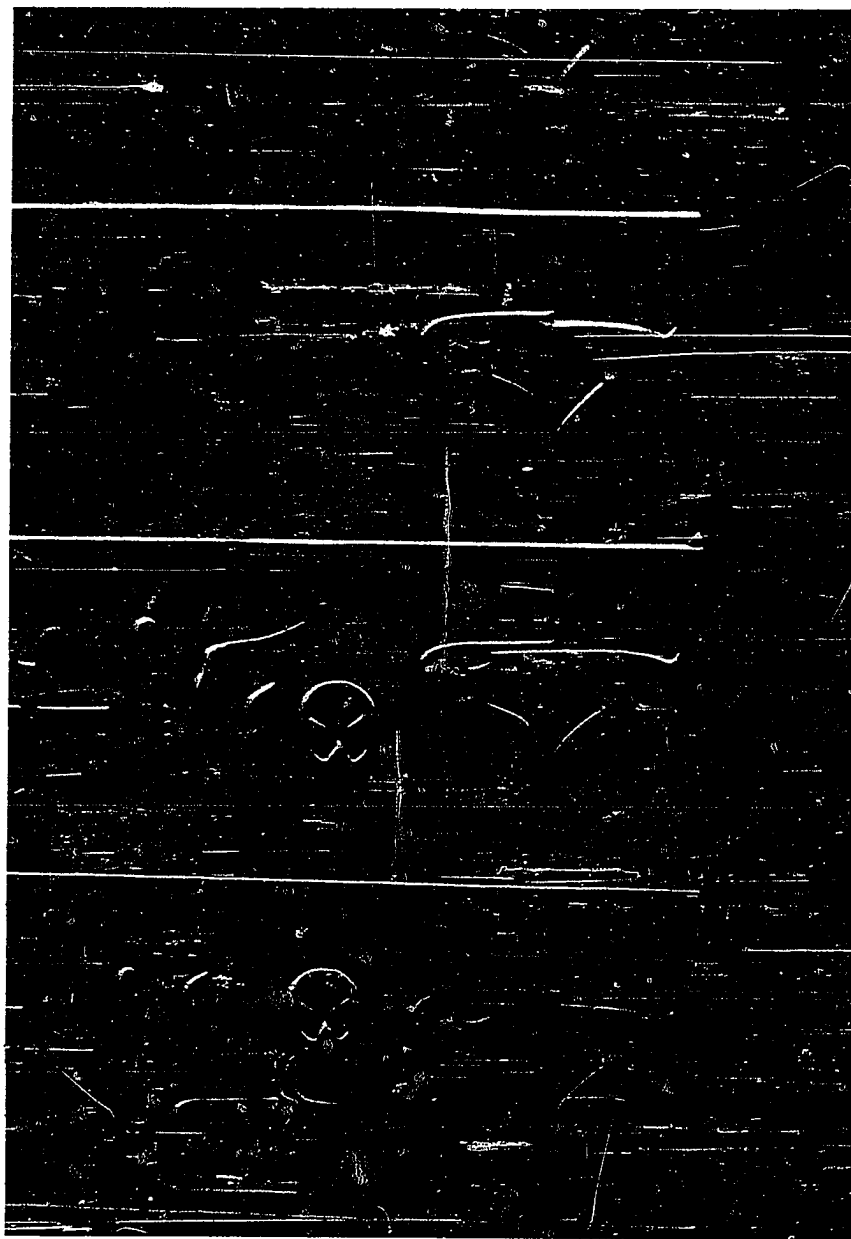


fig. 124

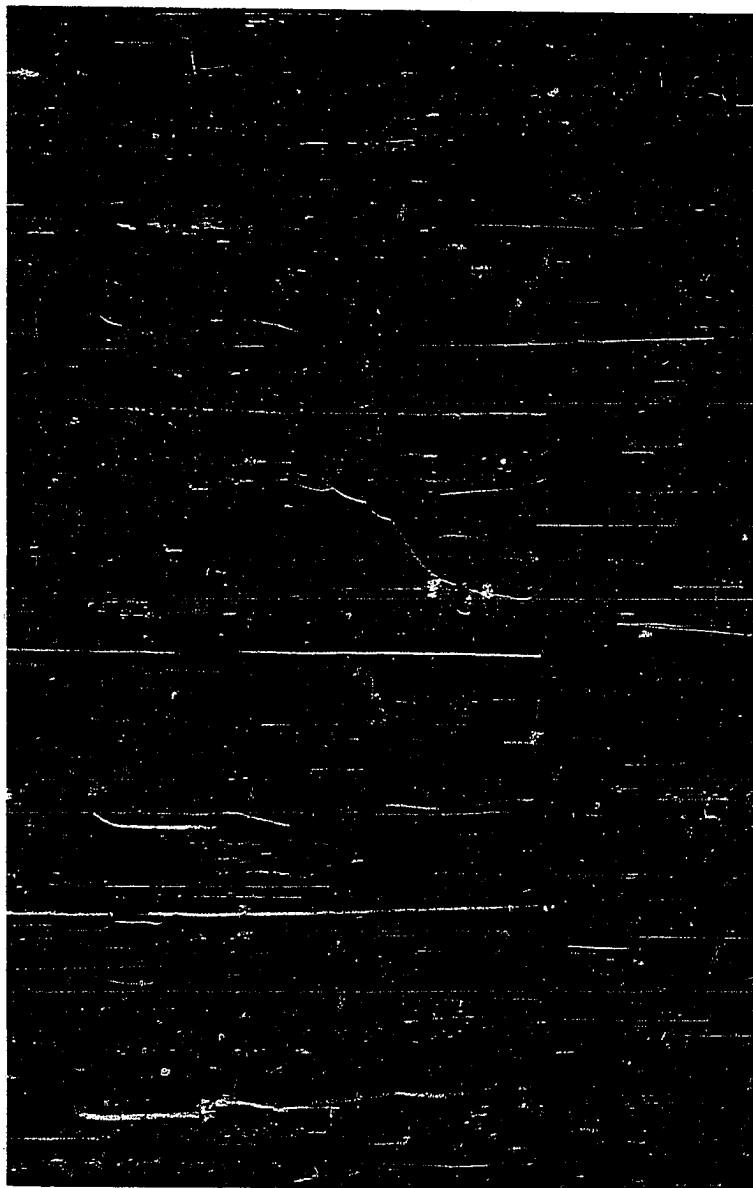


fig. 125

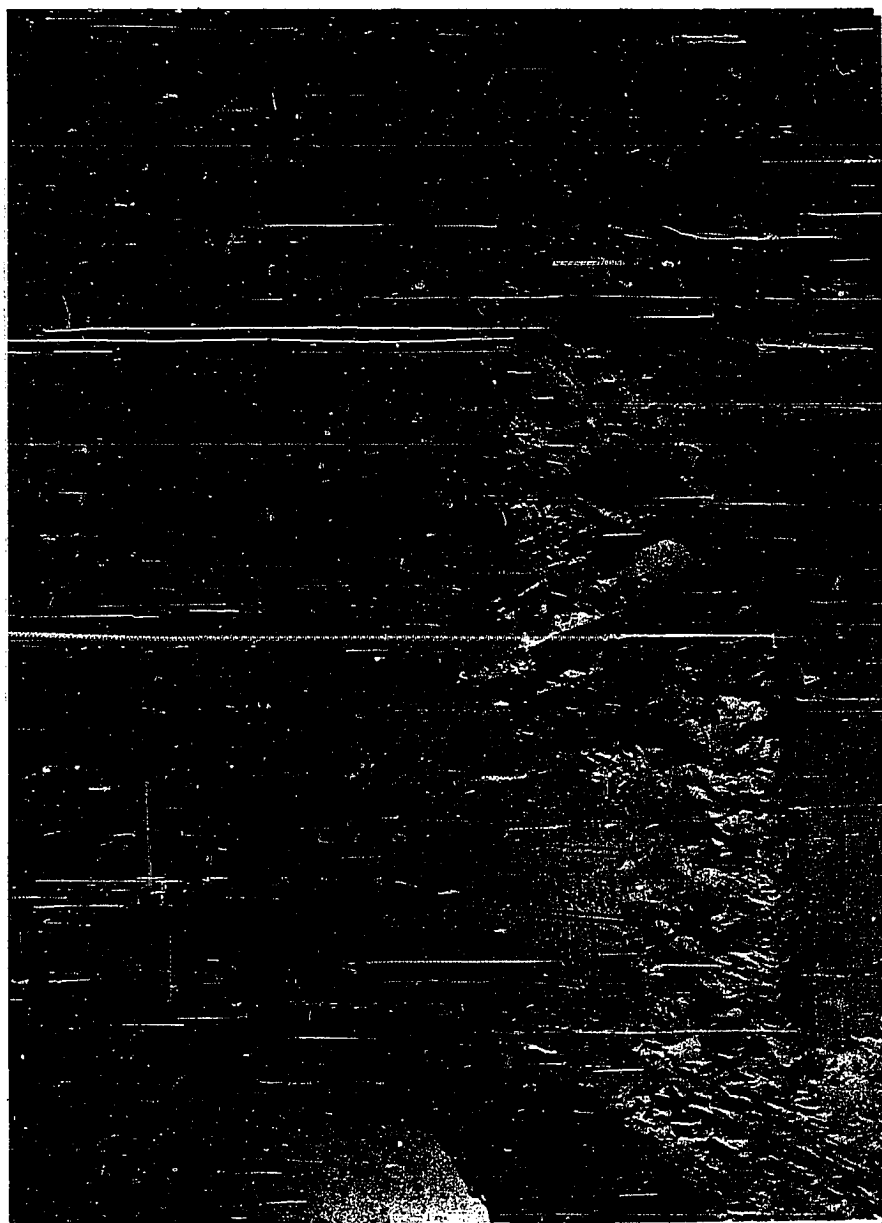


fig. 126

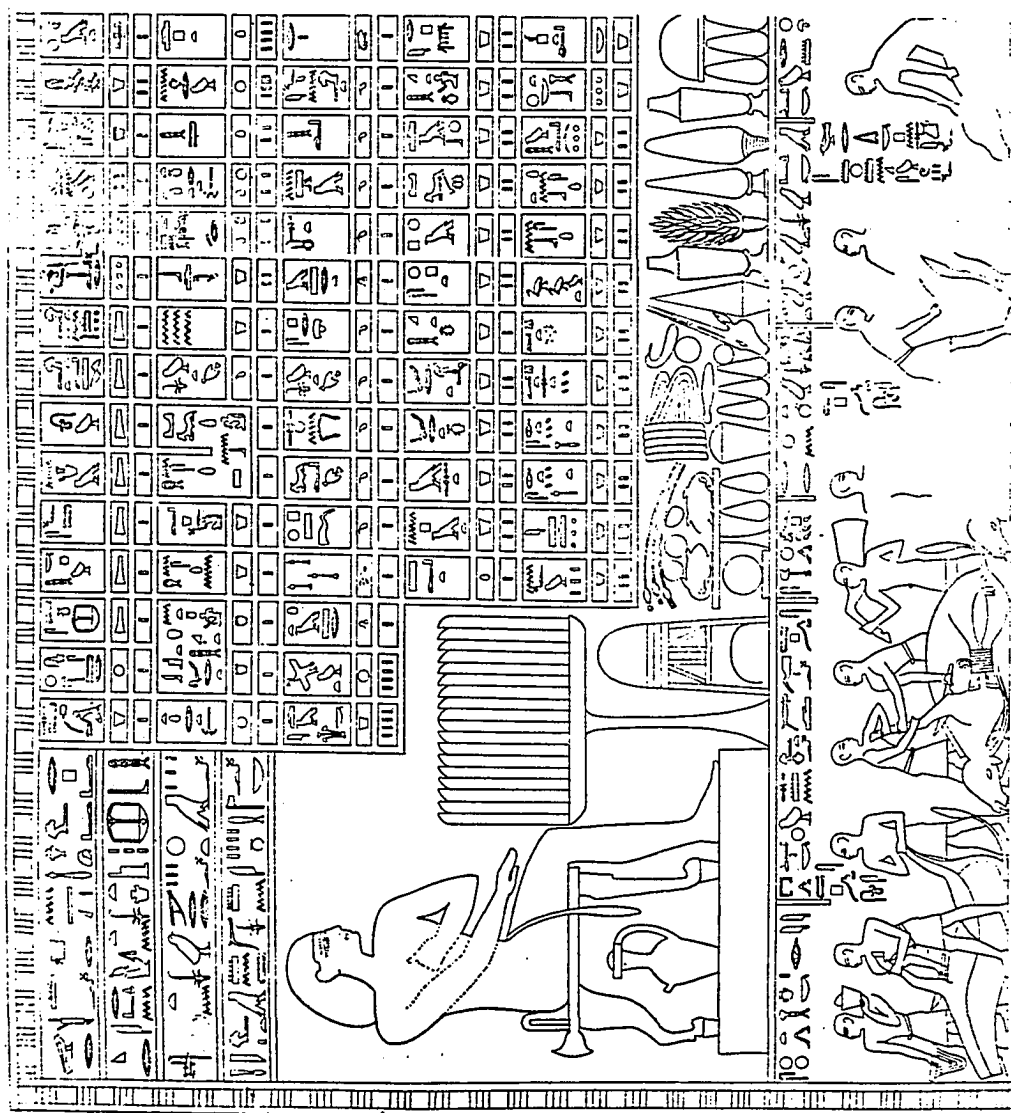


fig. 127A

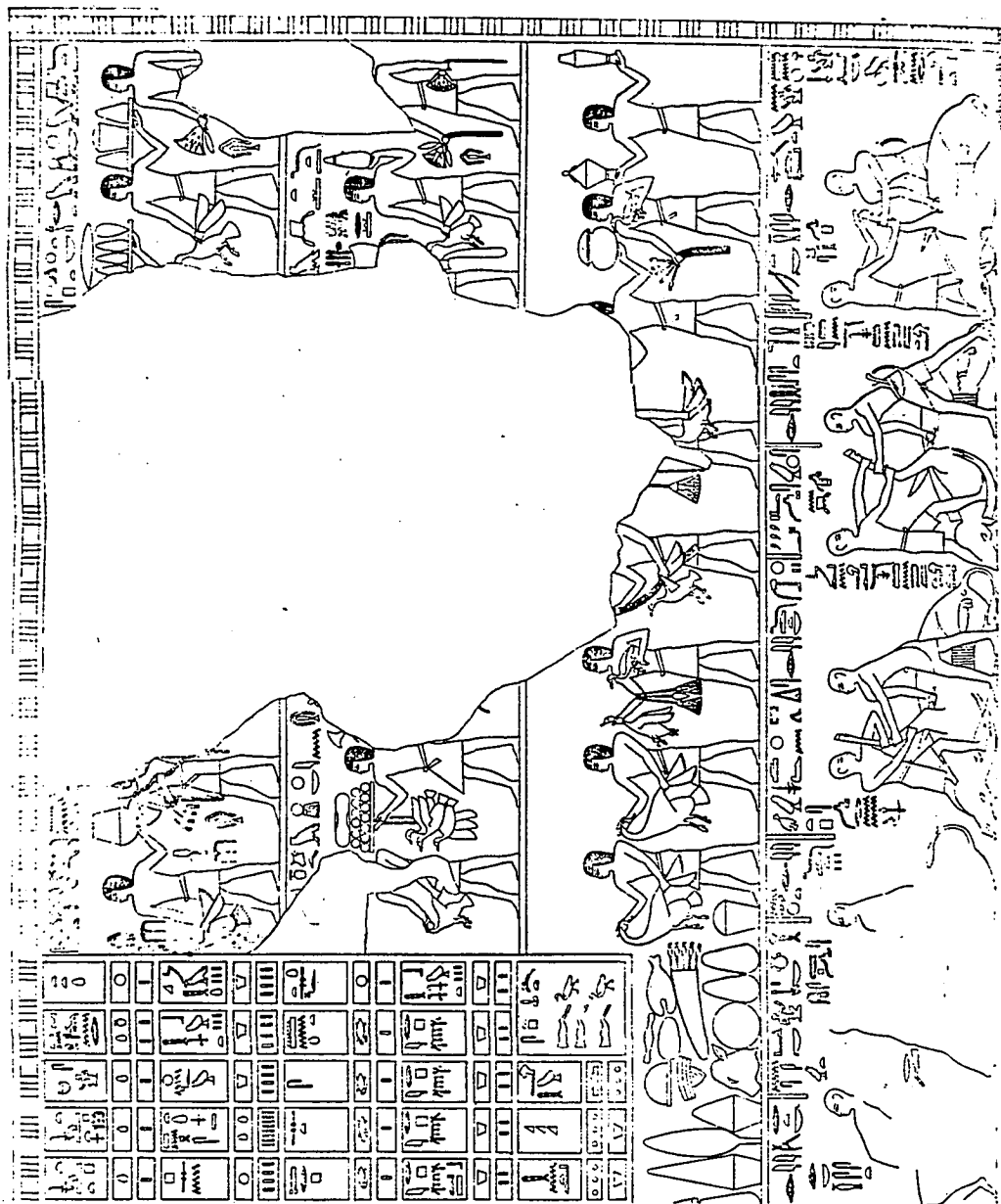


fig. 127B

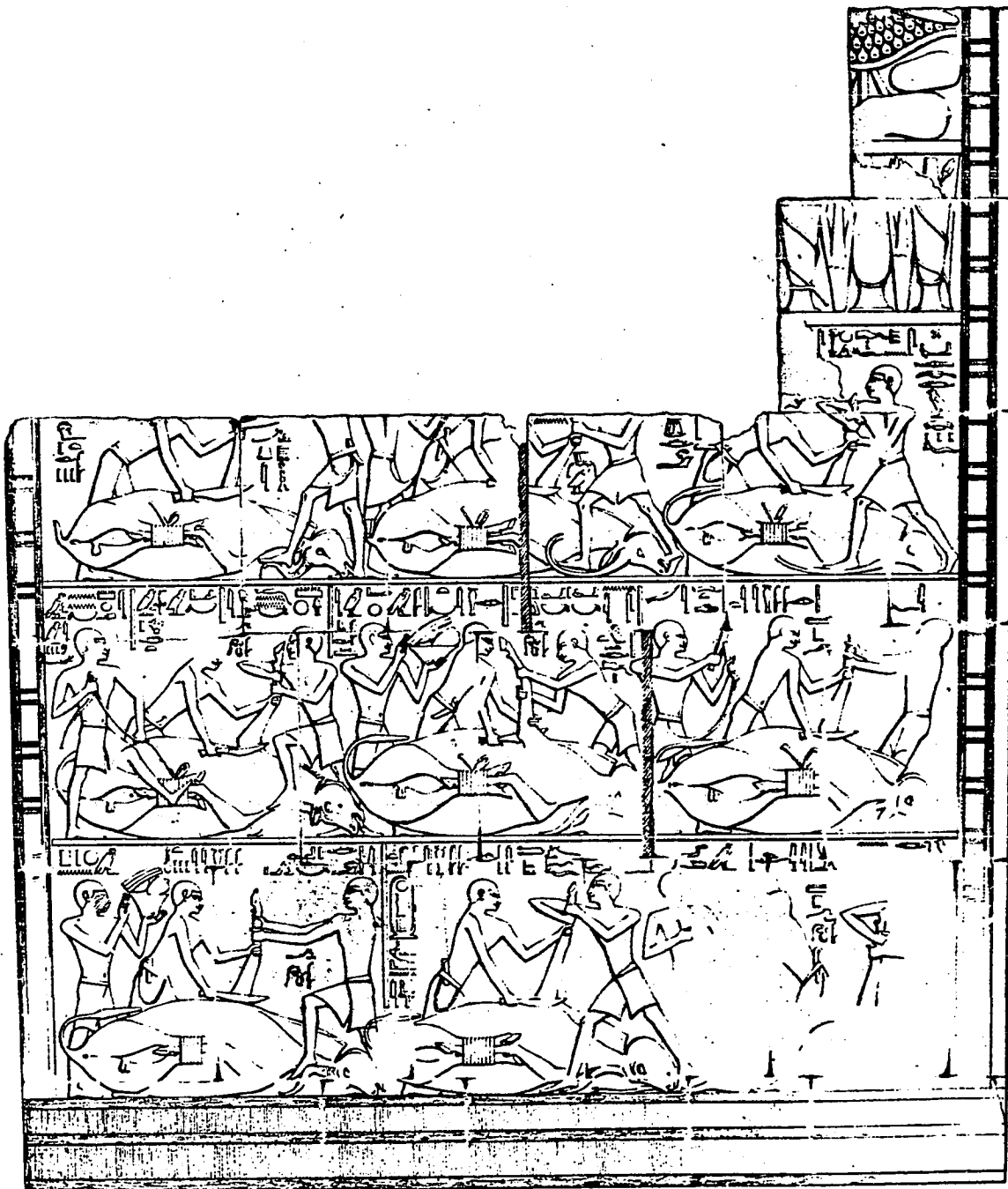


fig. 128A

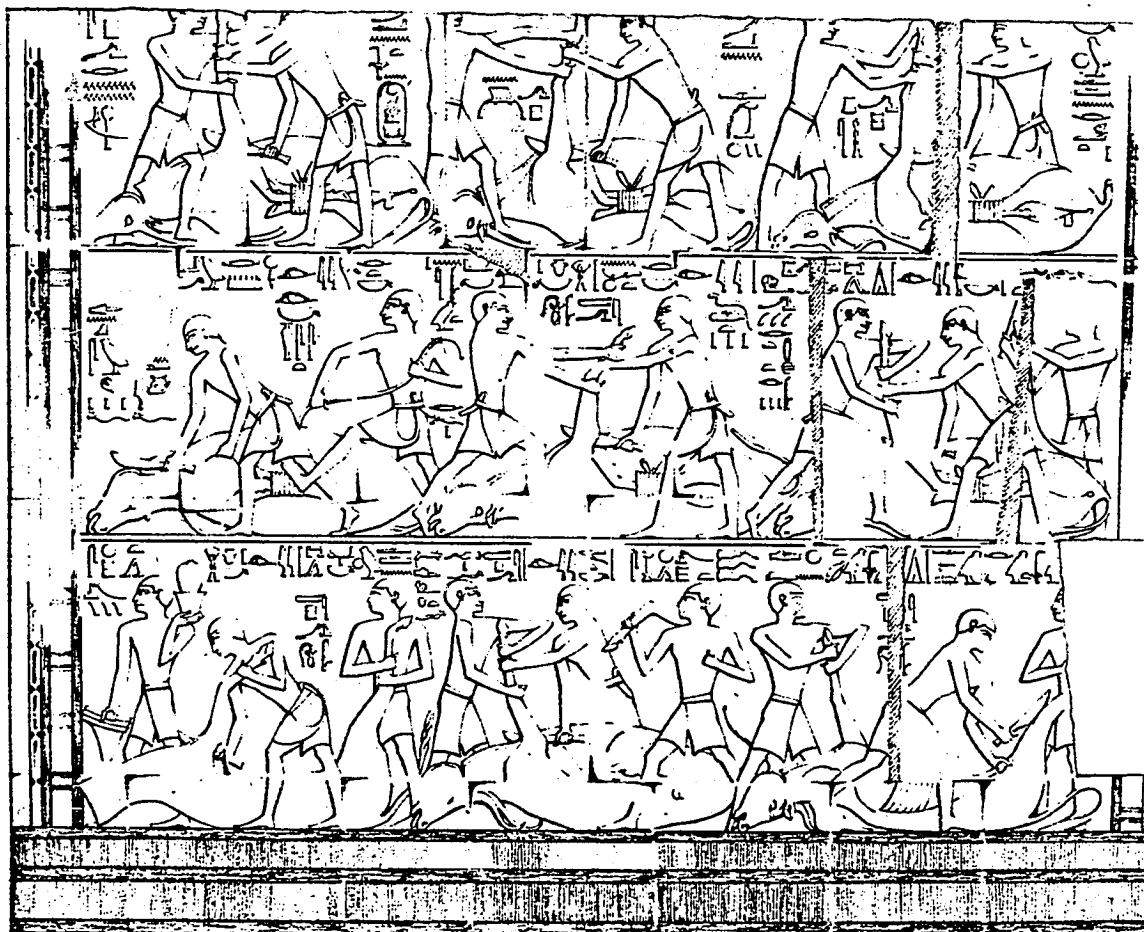


fig. 128B

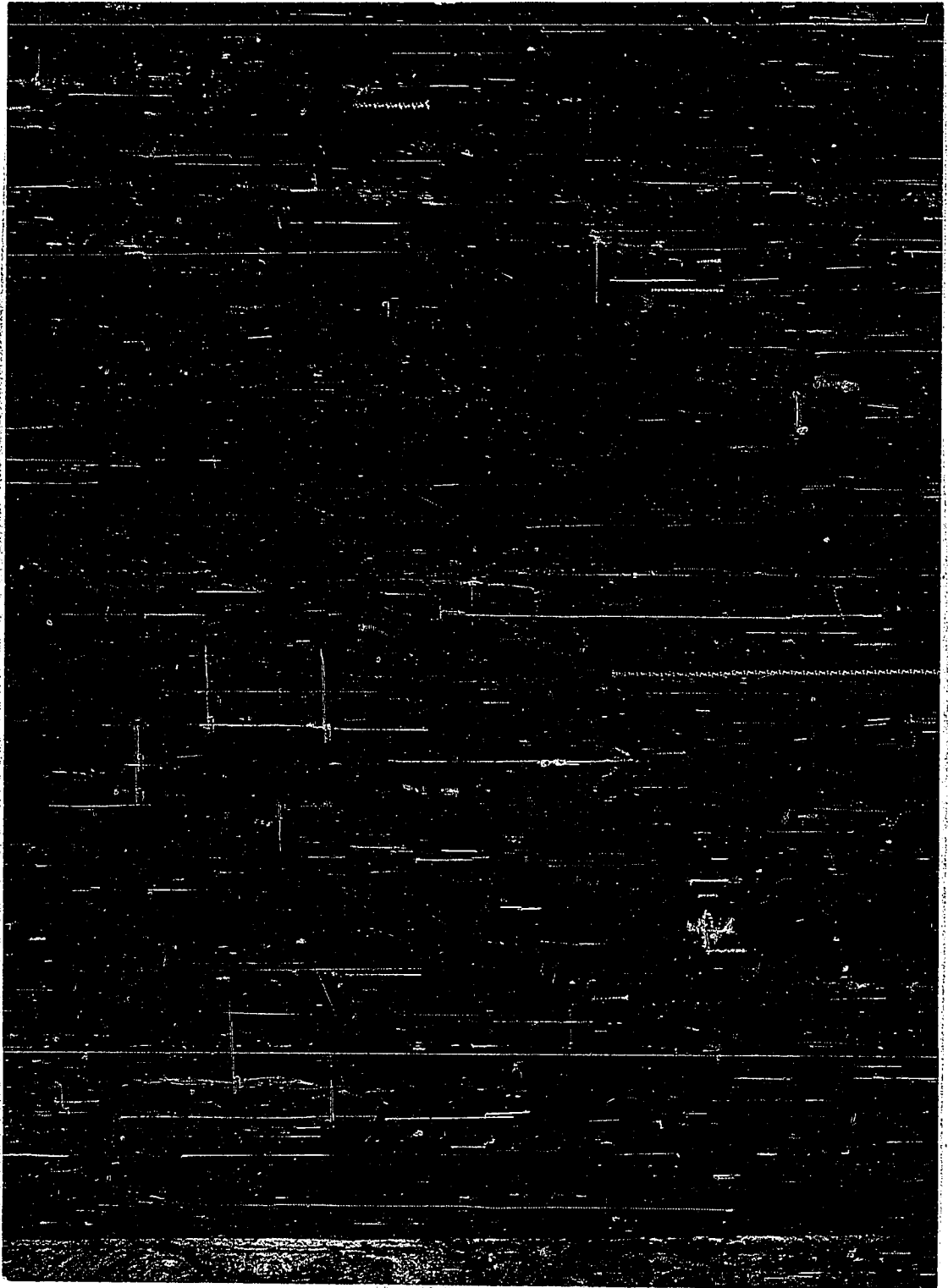


fig. 129

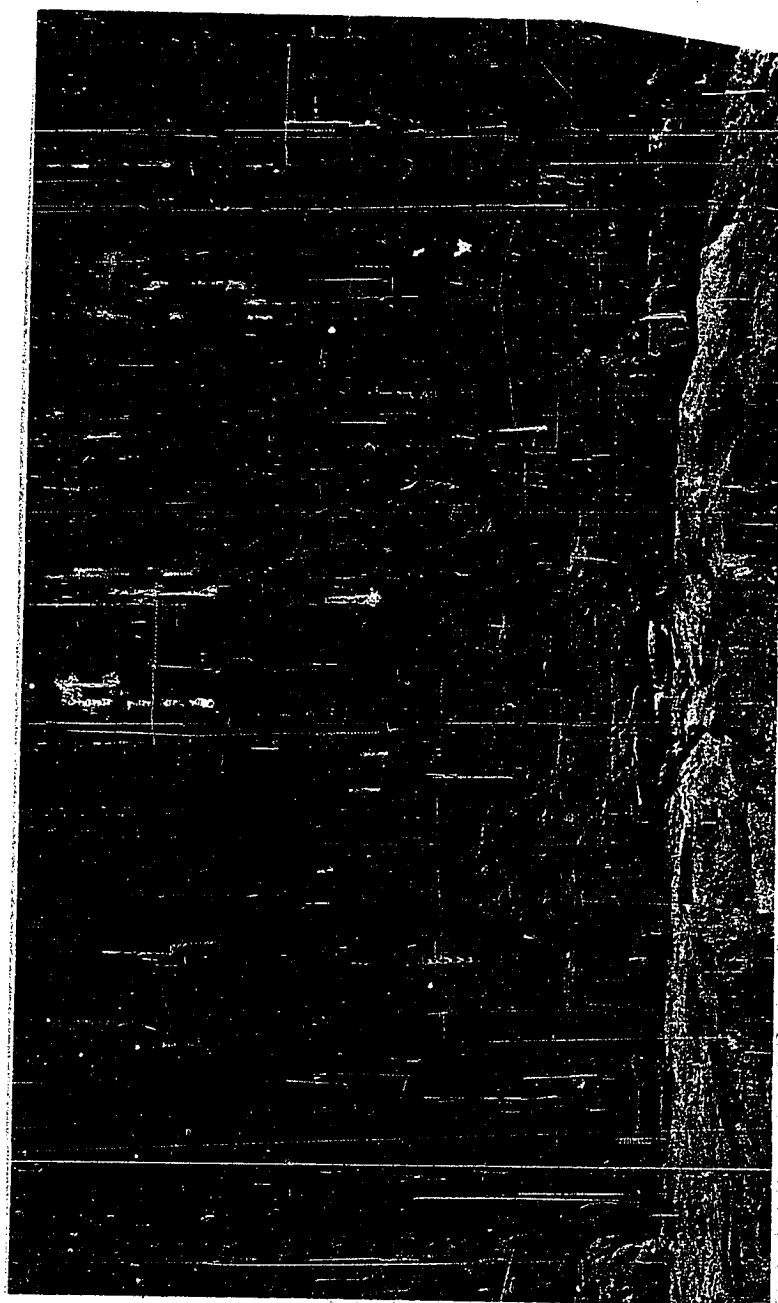


fig. 130

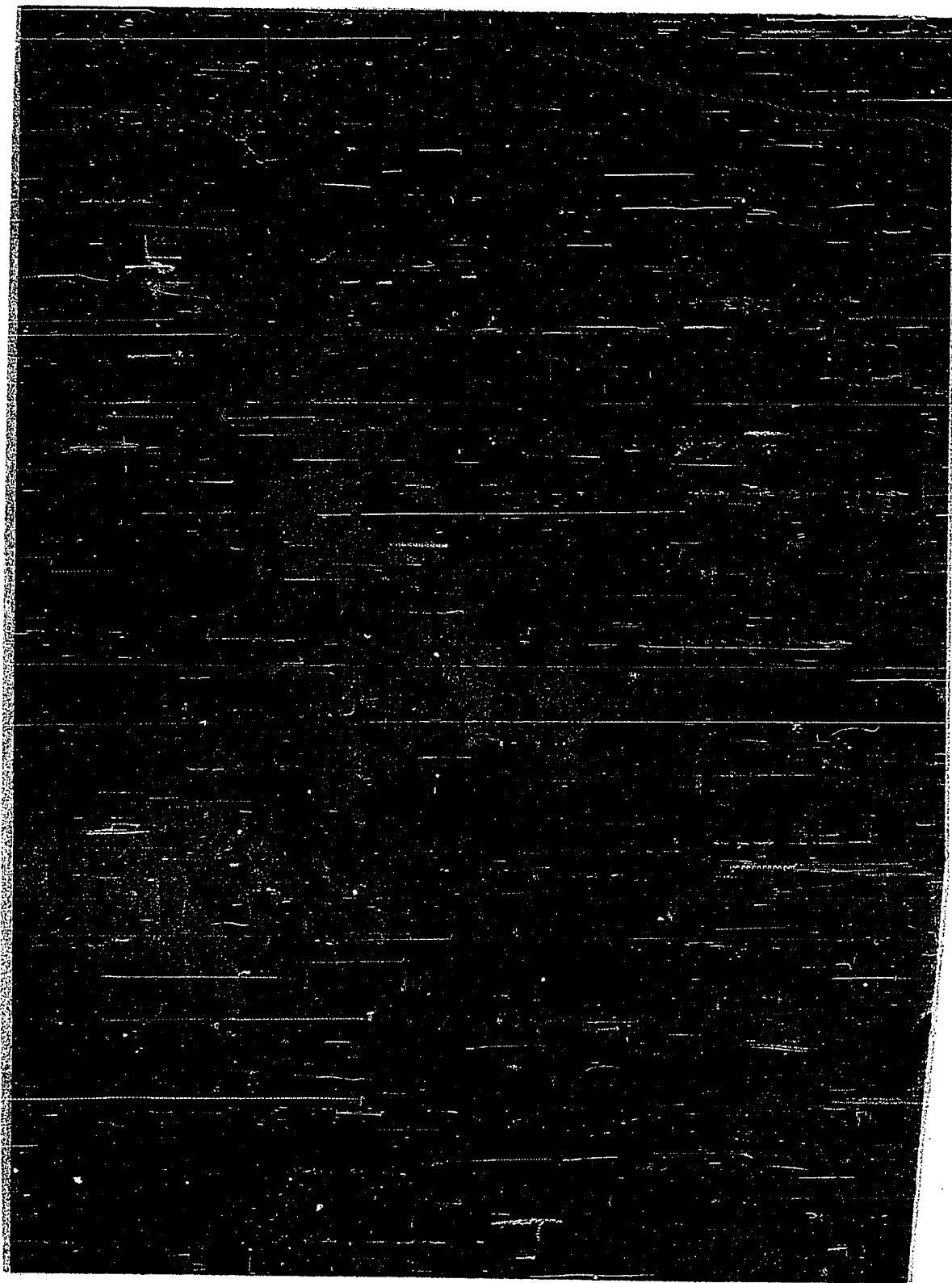


fig. 131

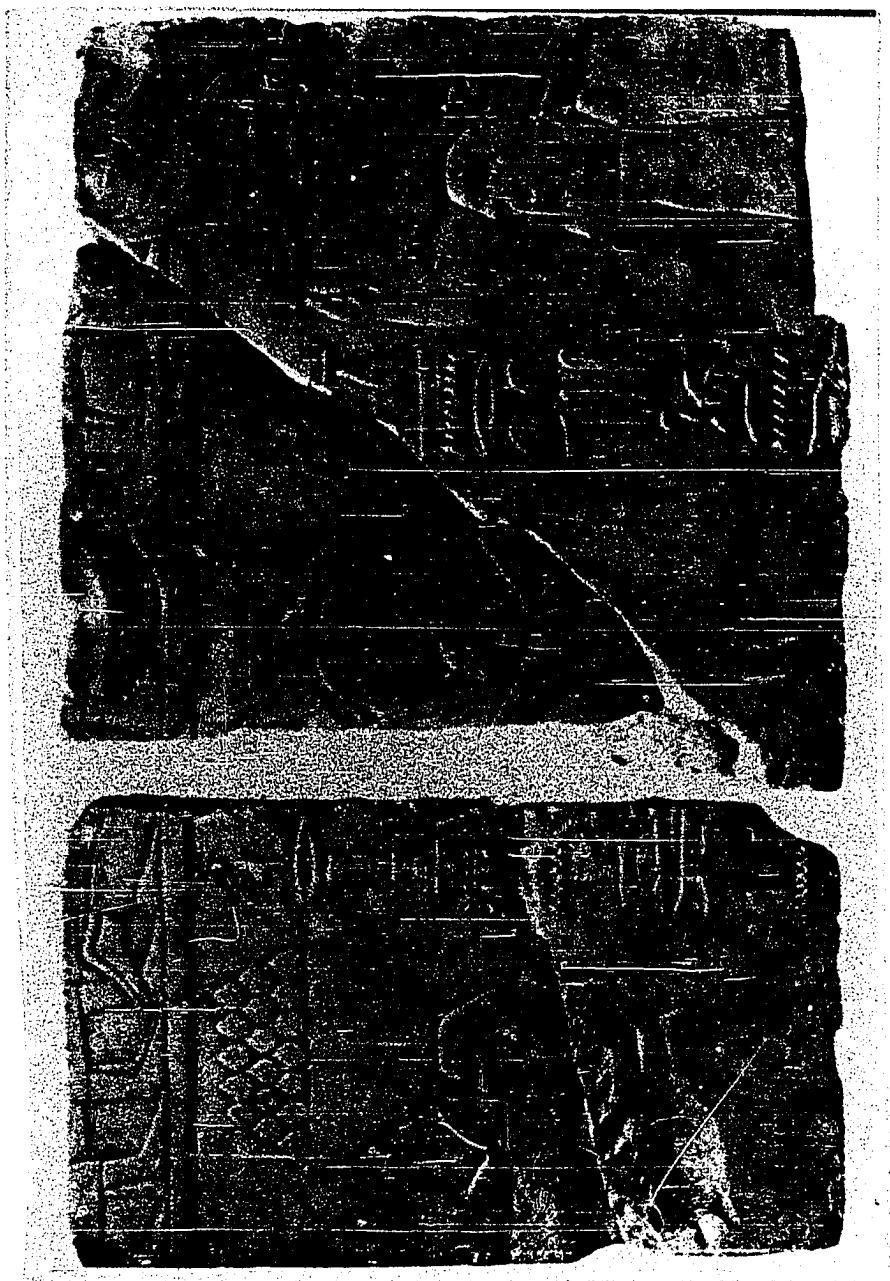


fig. 132

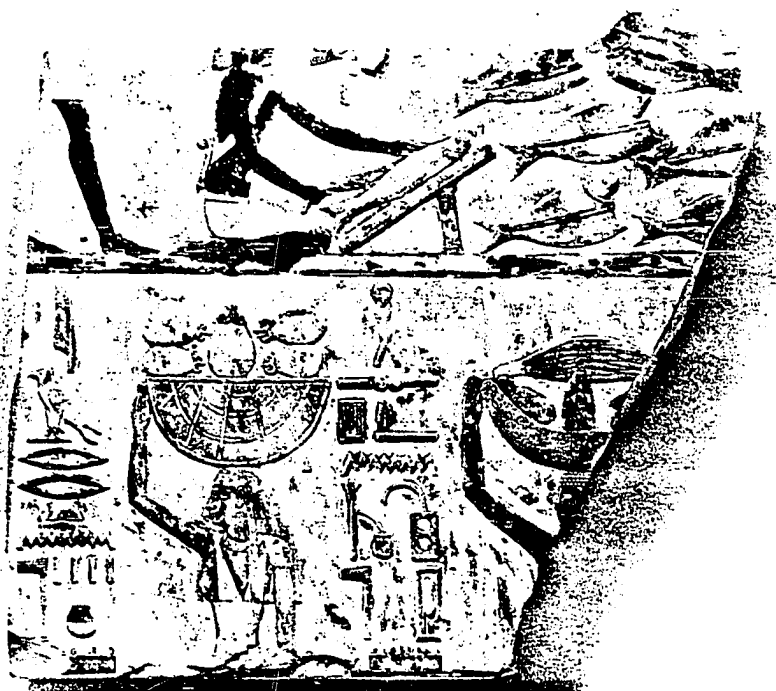


fig. 133

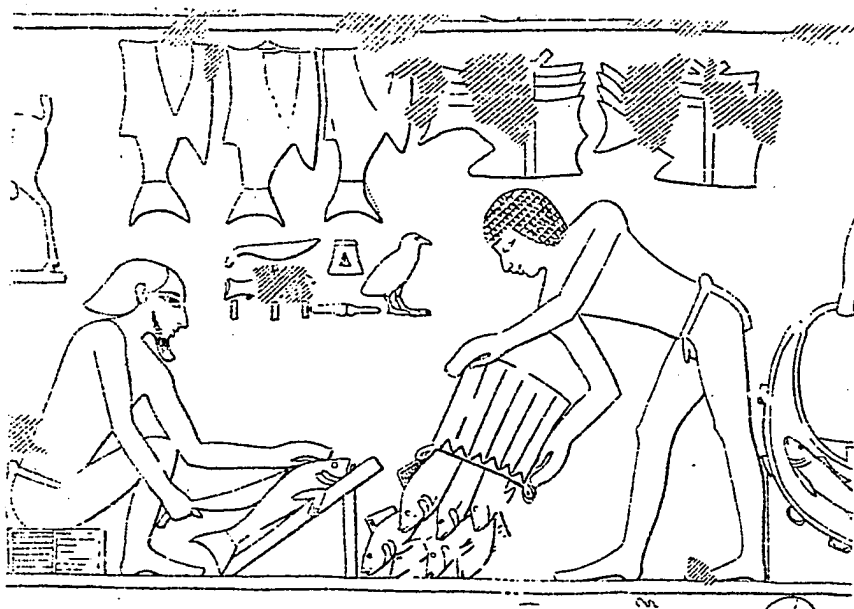


fig. 134



fig. 135



fig. 136

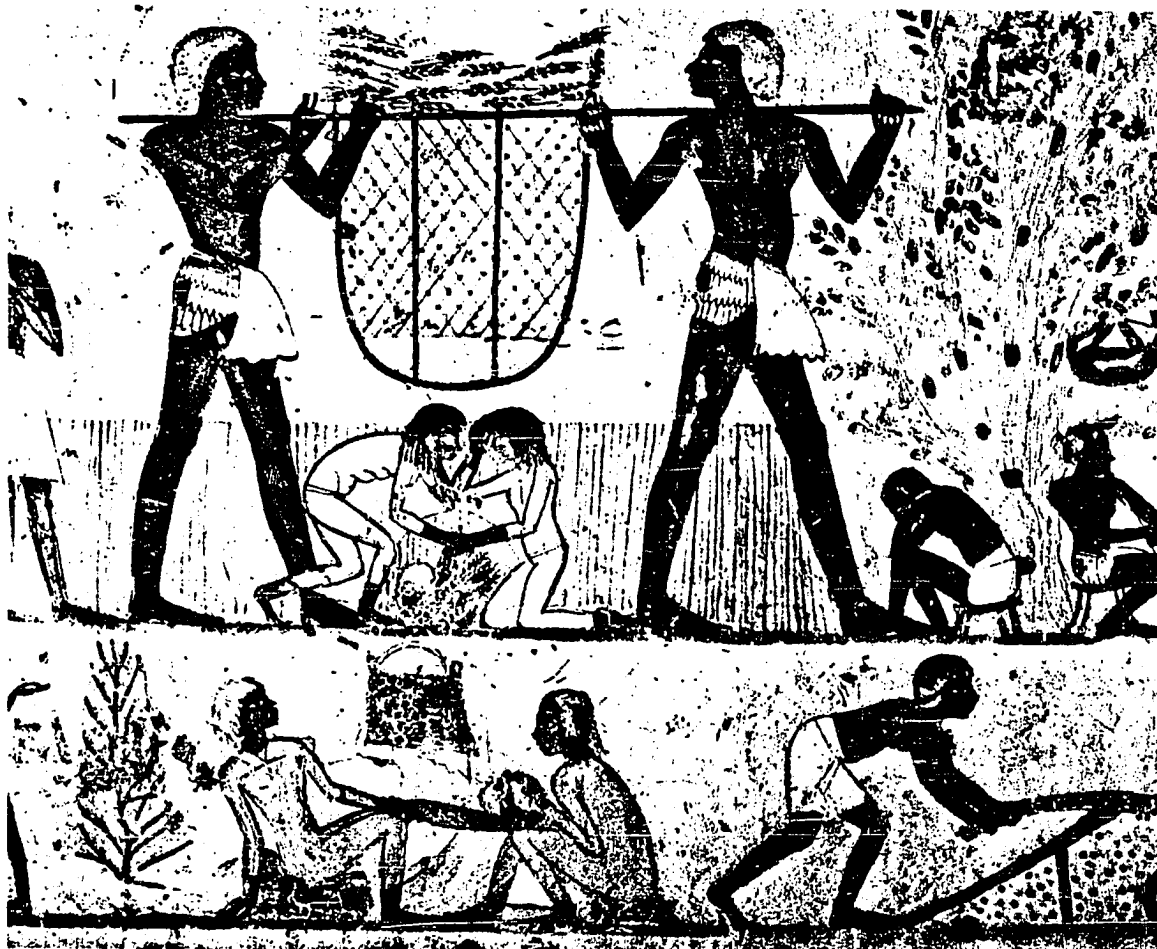


fig. 137



fig. 138



fig. 139



fig. 140

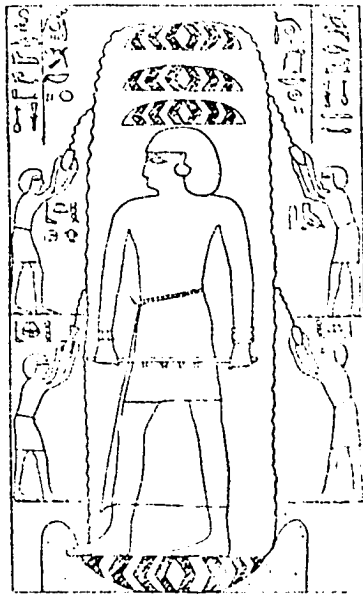


fig. 141

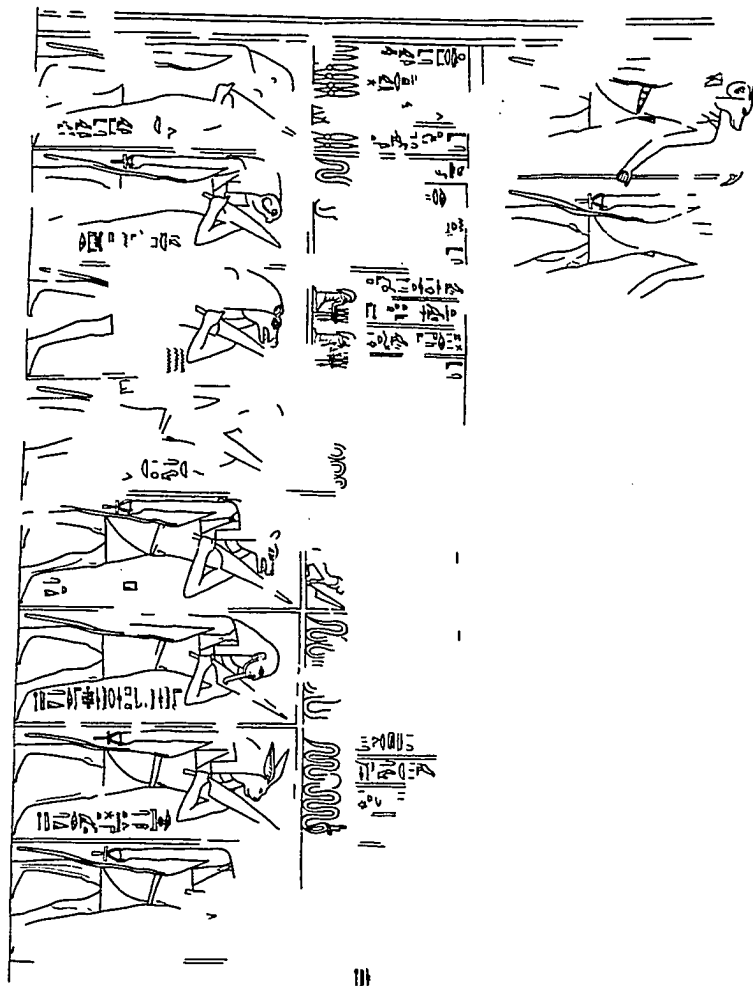


fig. 142A

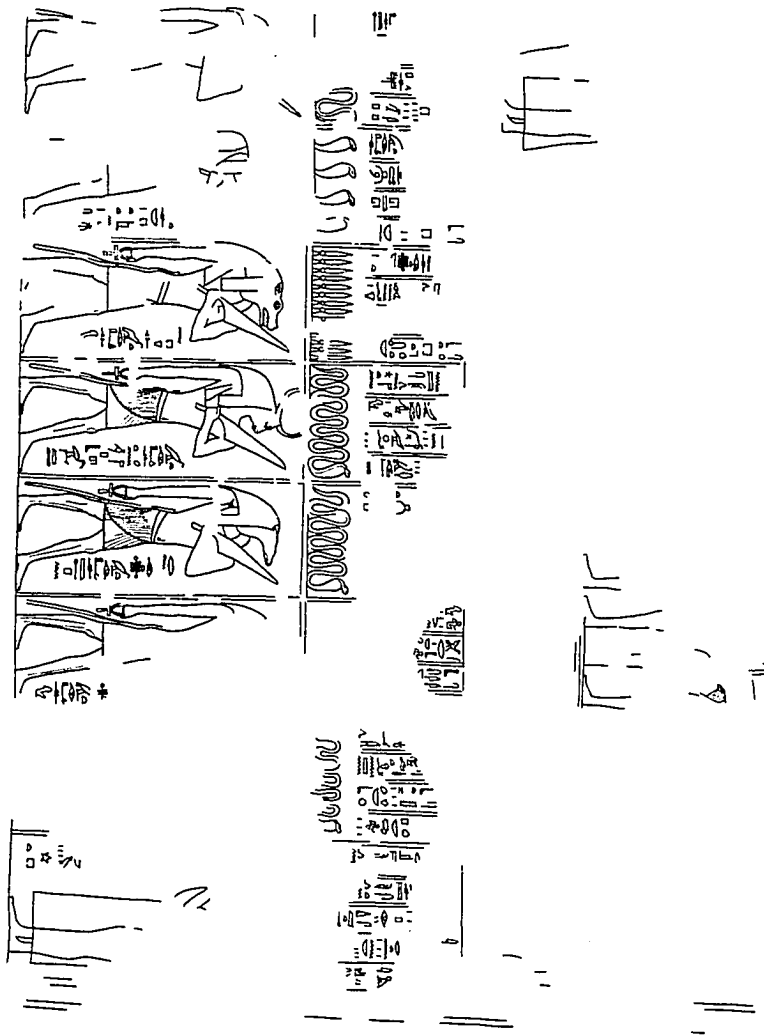


fig. 142B

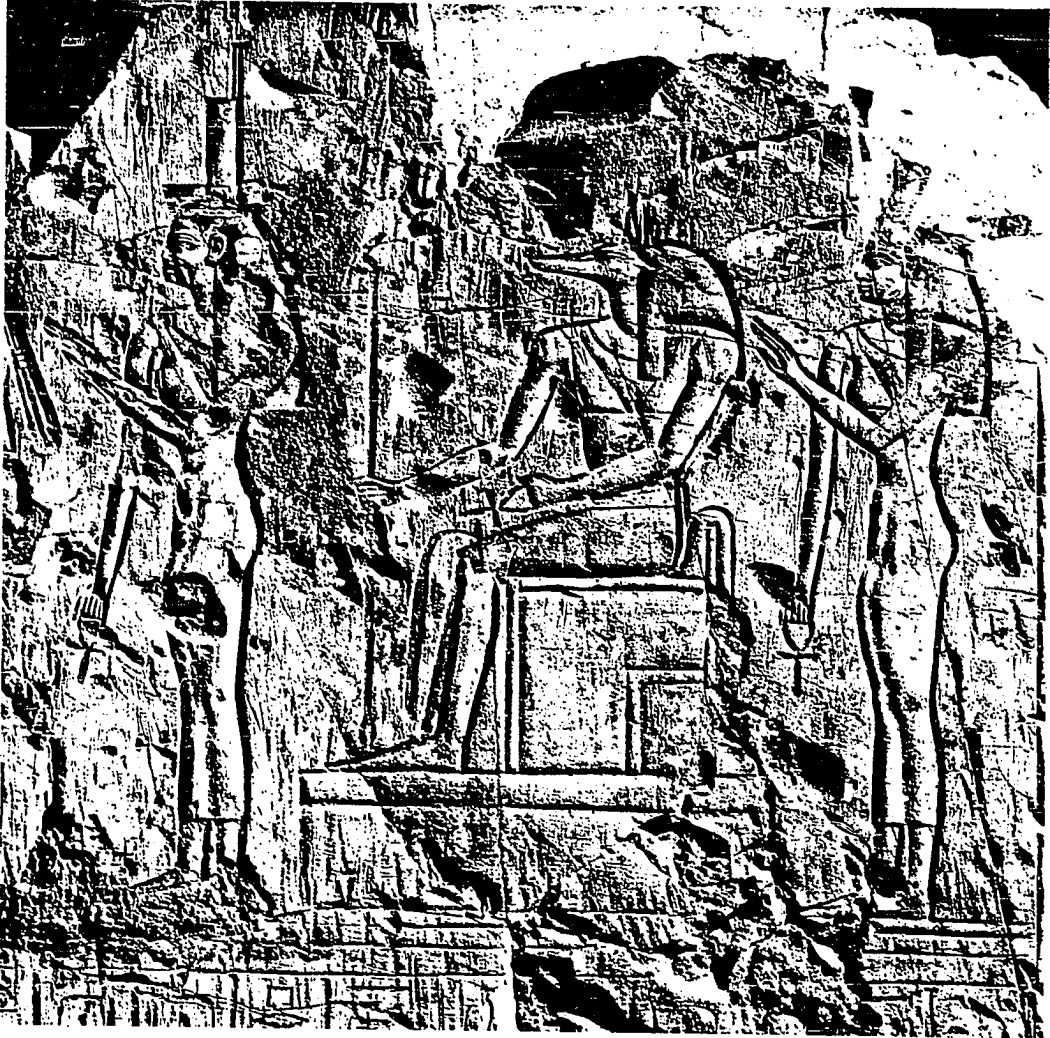


fig. 143



fig. 144

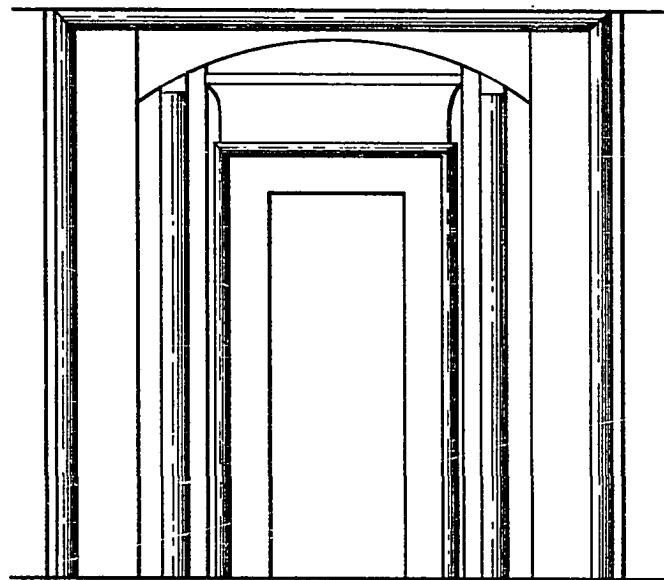
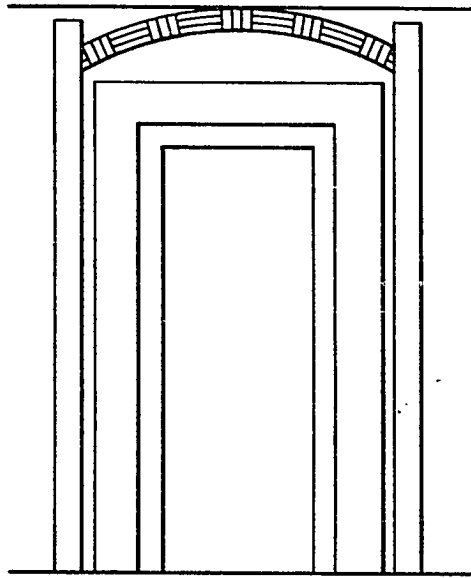


fig. 145



fig. 146



fig. 147

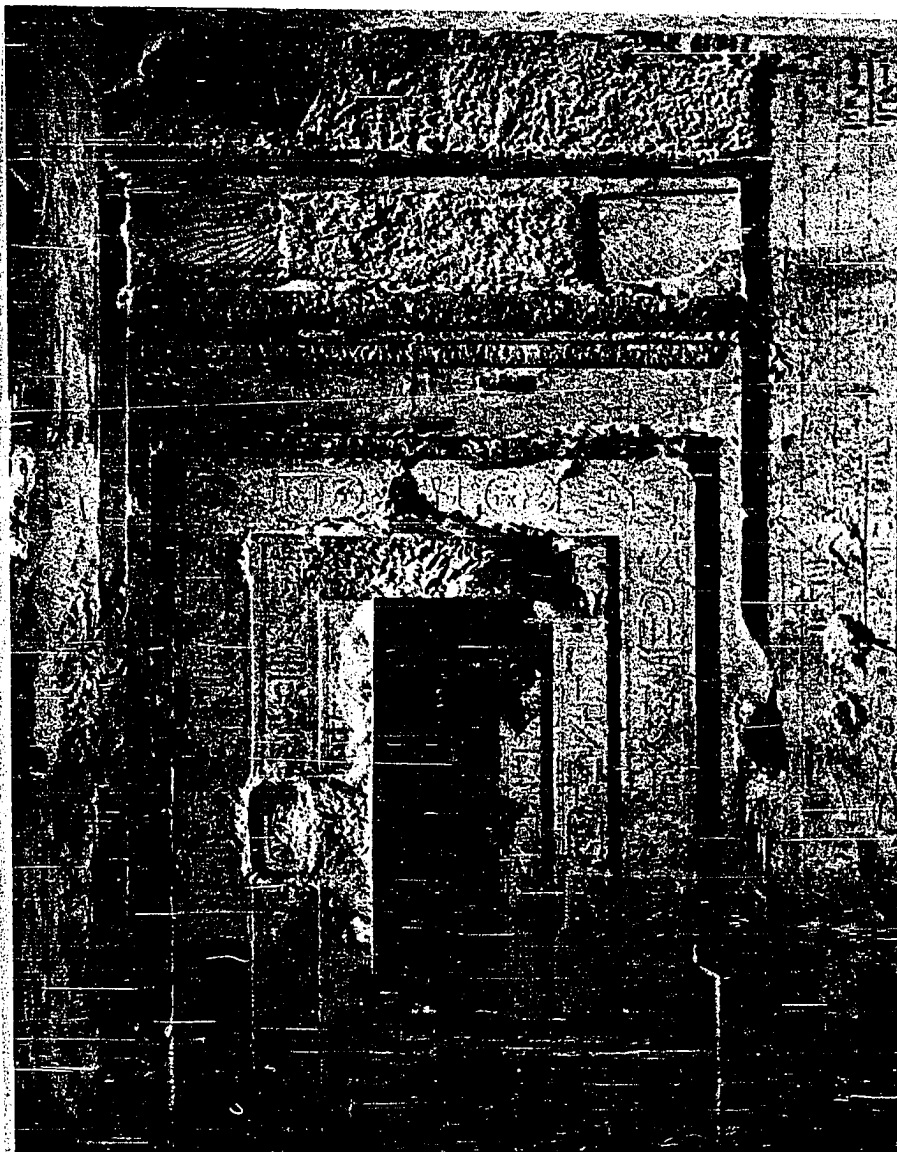
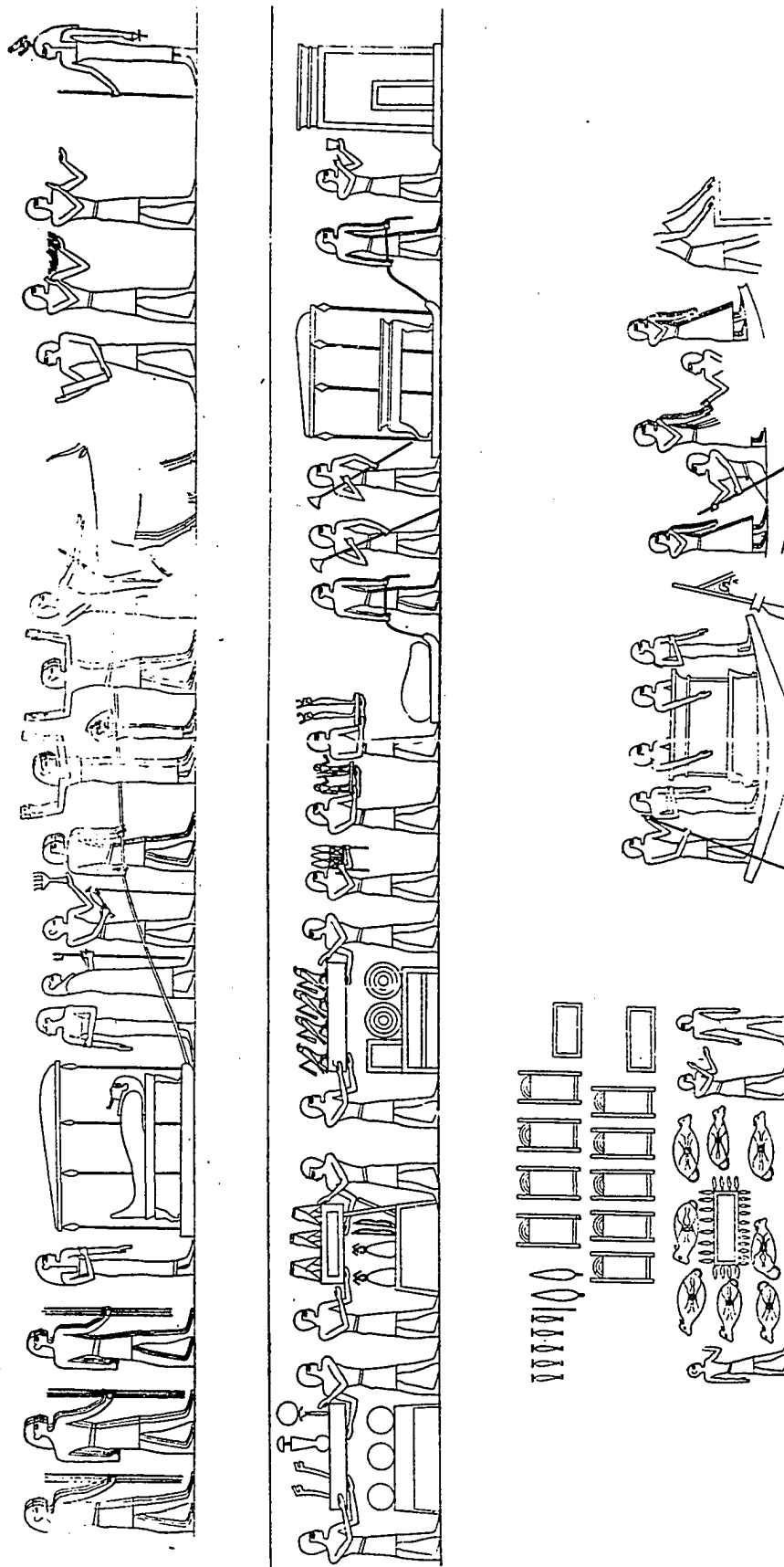


fig. 148



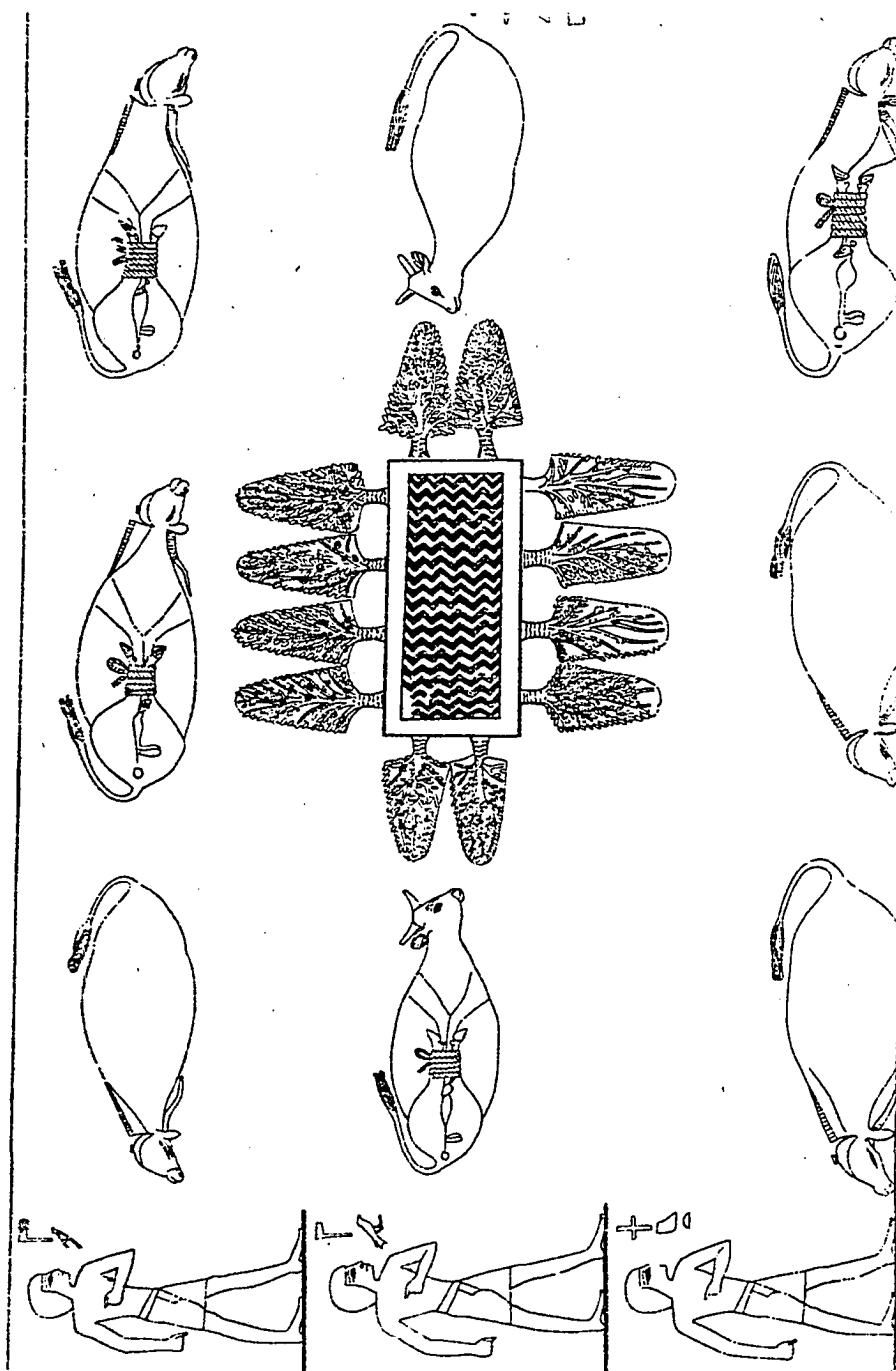


fig. 150

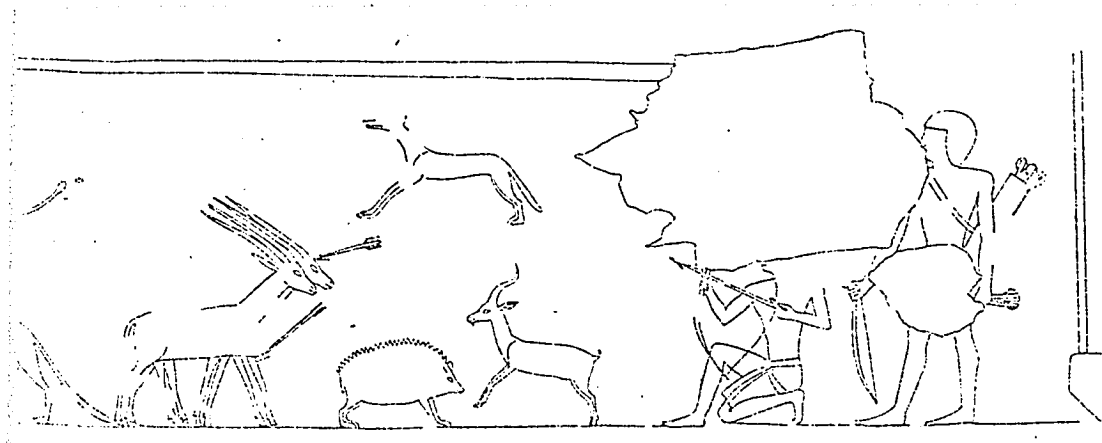


fig. 151



fig. 152



fig. 153

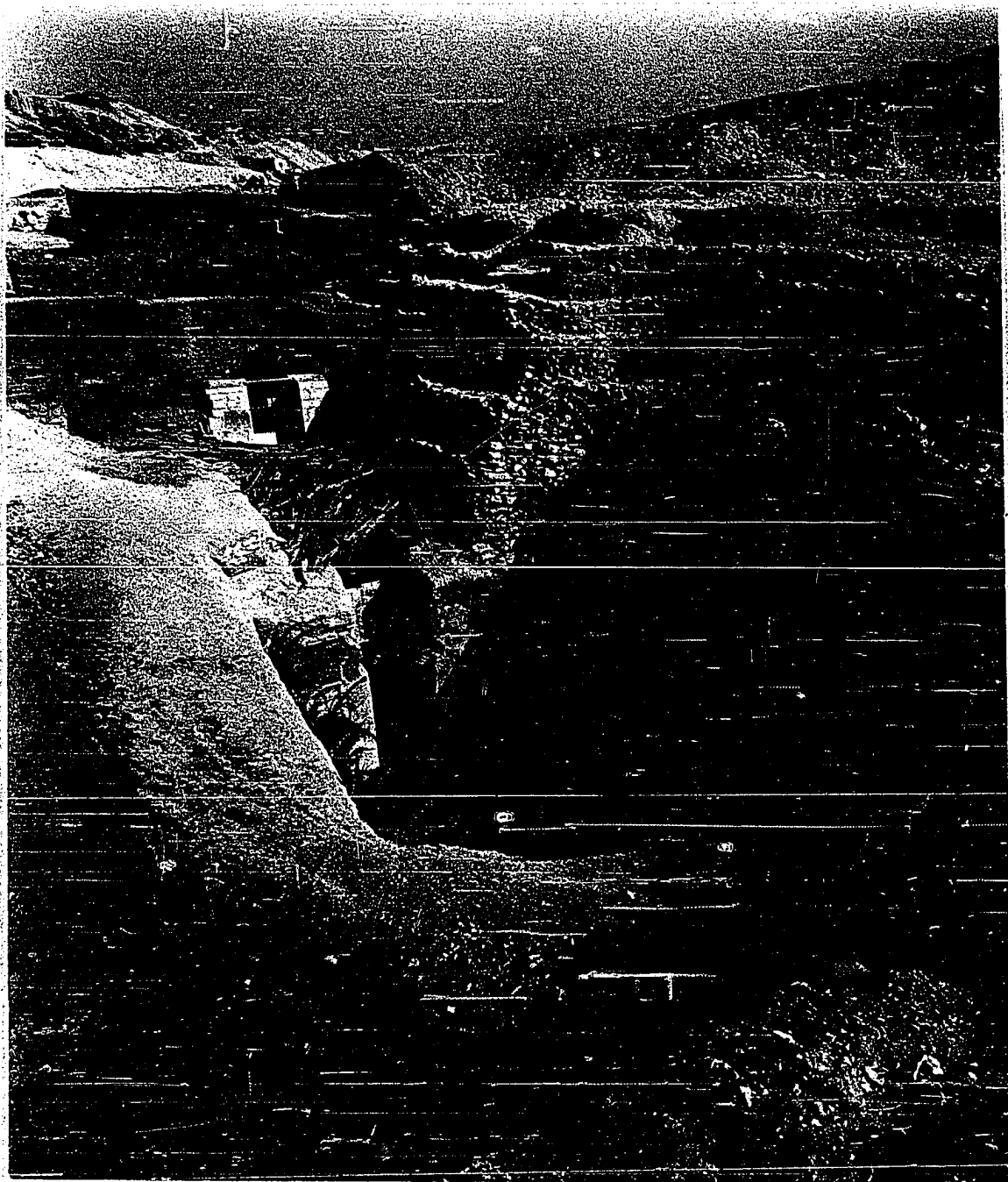
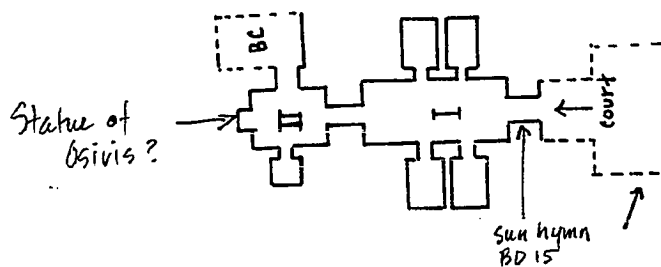
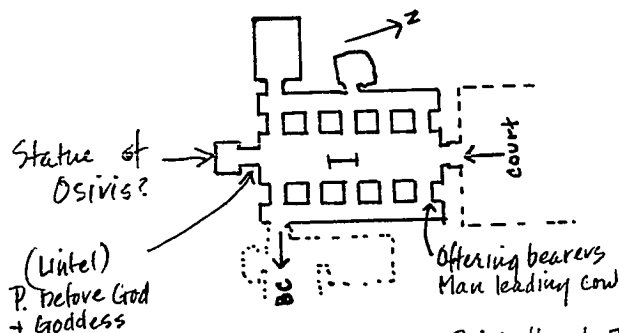


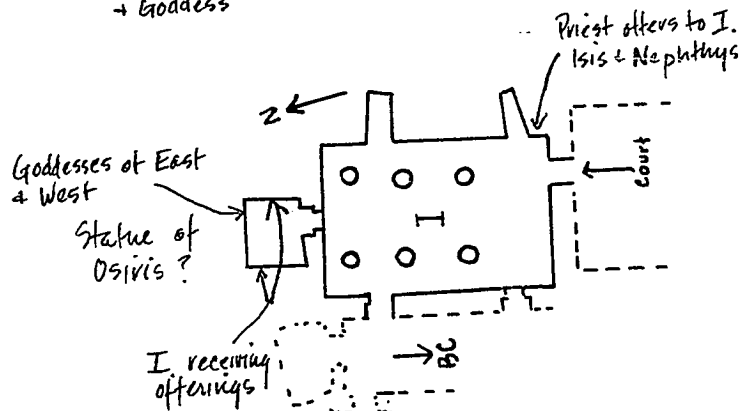
fig. 154



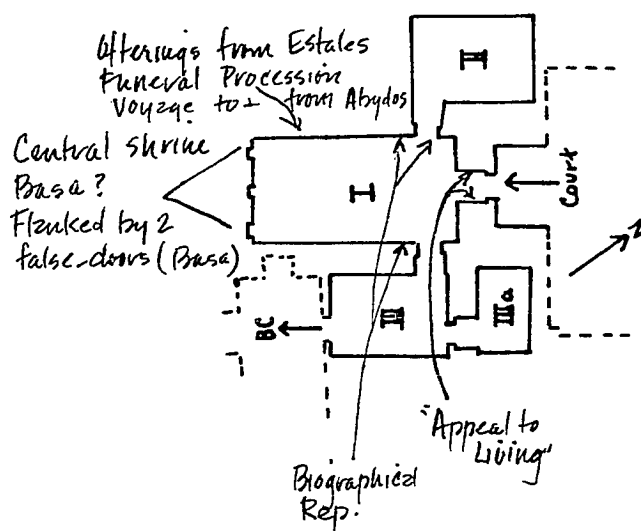
Pedihorresnet



Pabasa



Ibi



Basa

fig. 155A

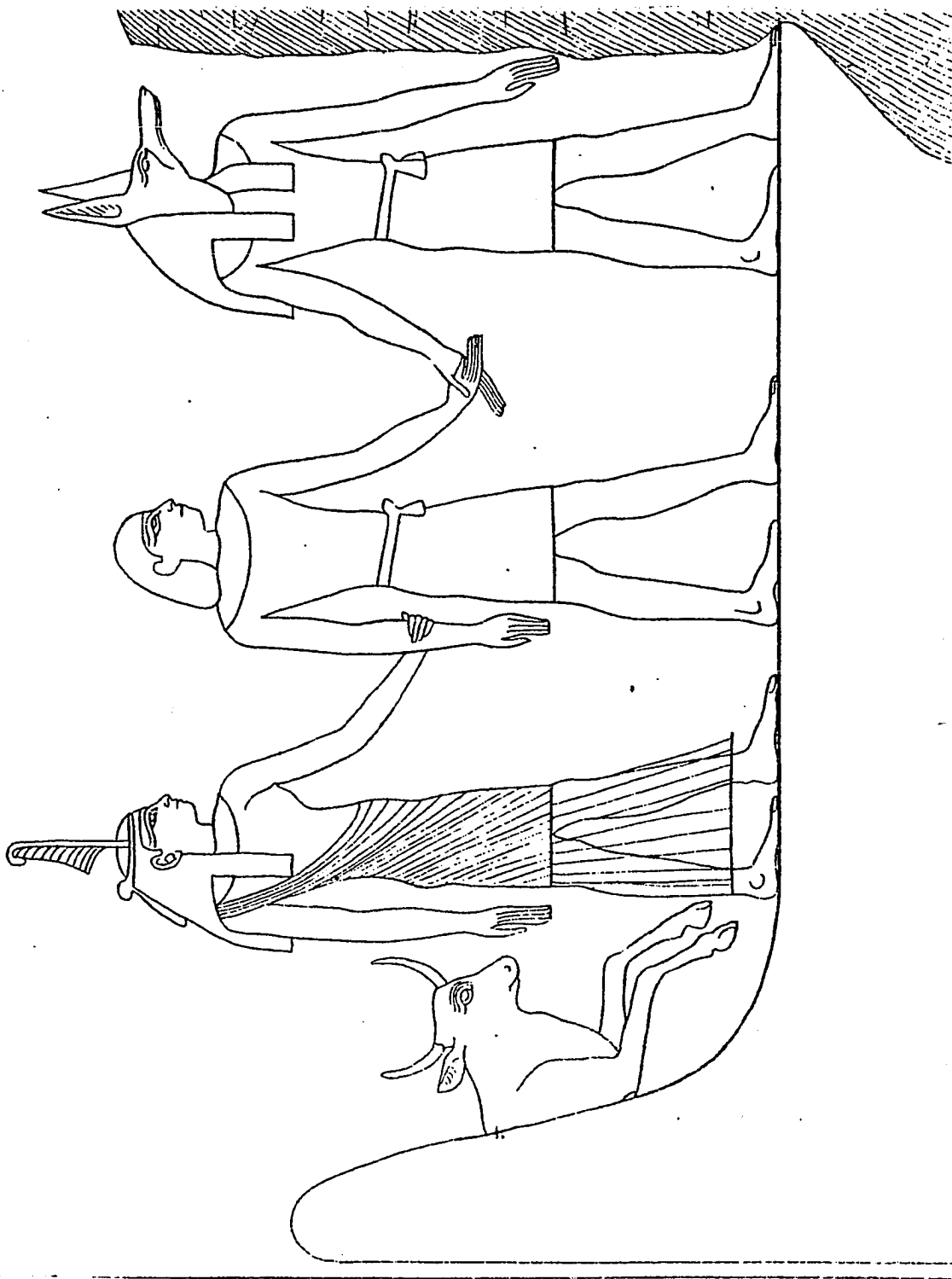


fig. 156

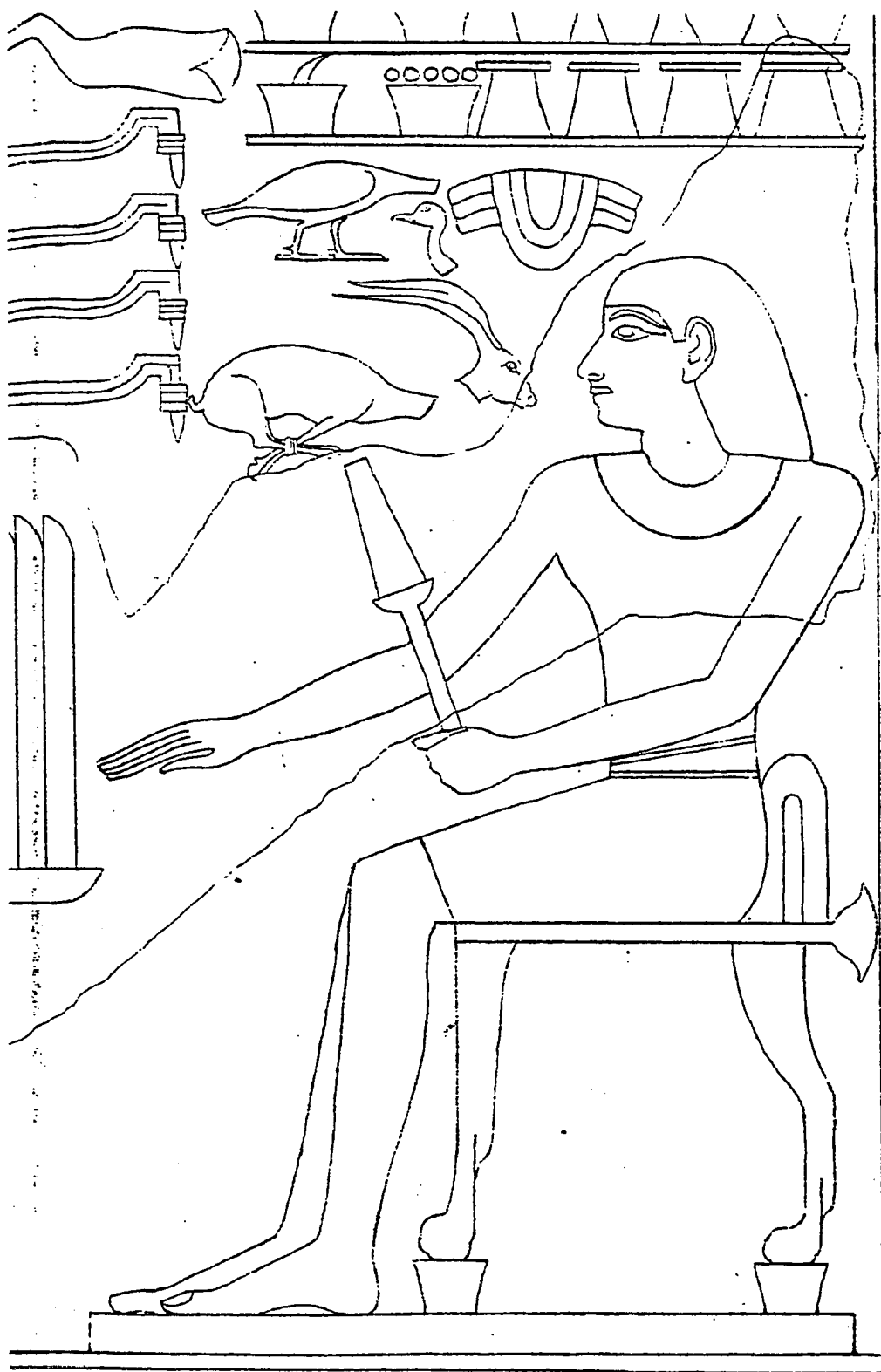


fig. 157

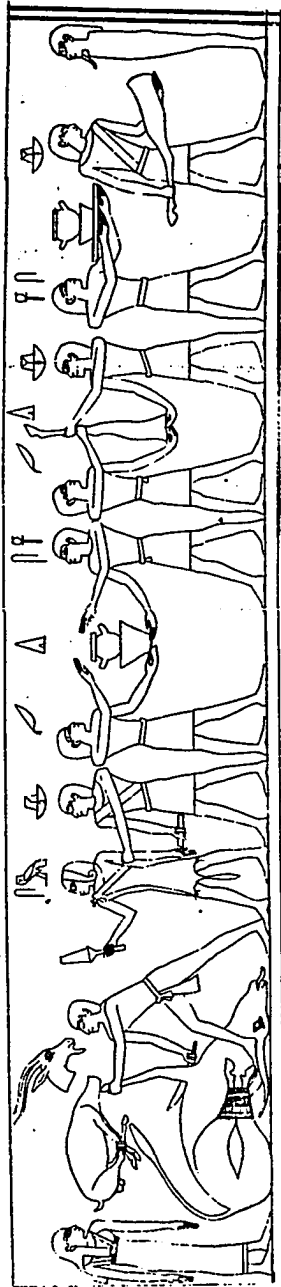


fig. 158

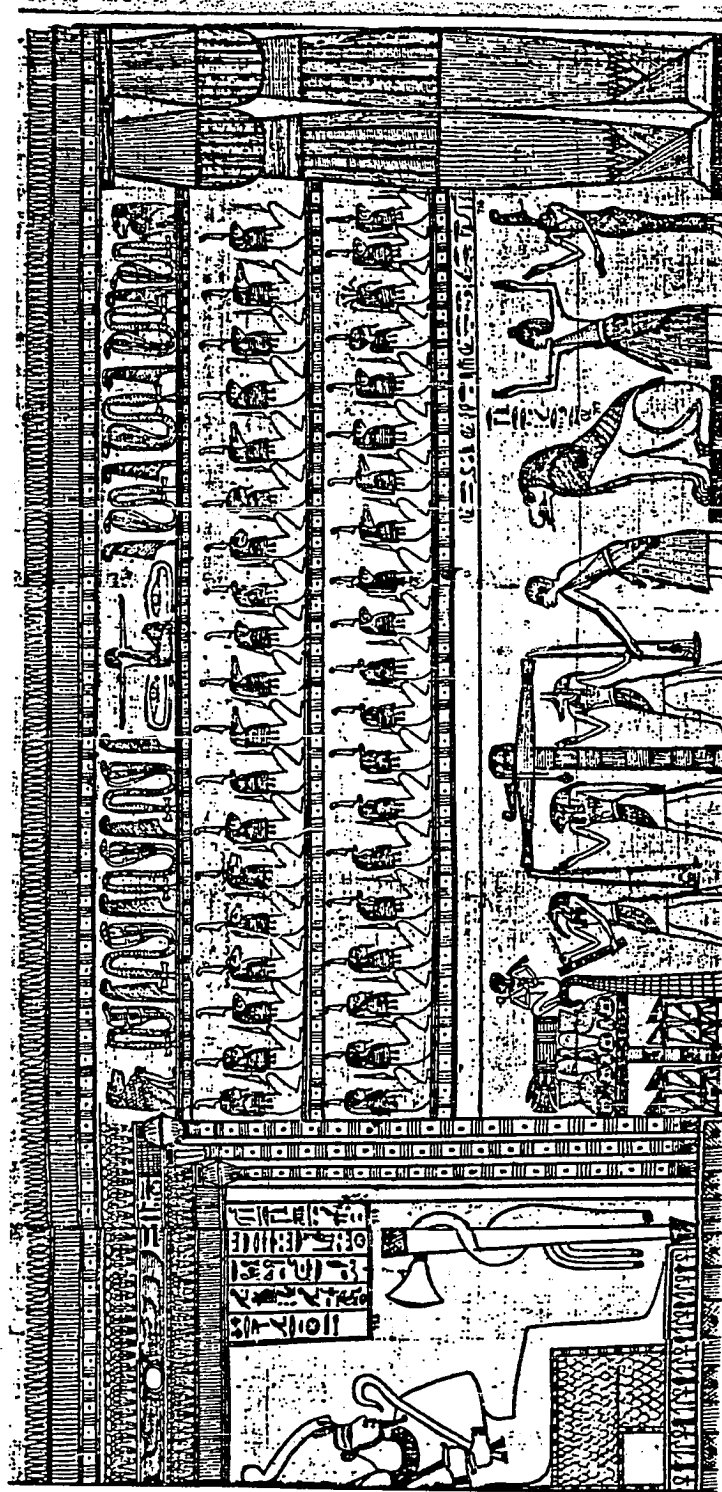


fig. 159



fig. 160



fig. 161

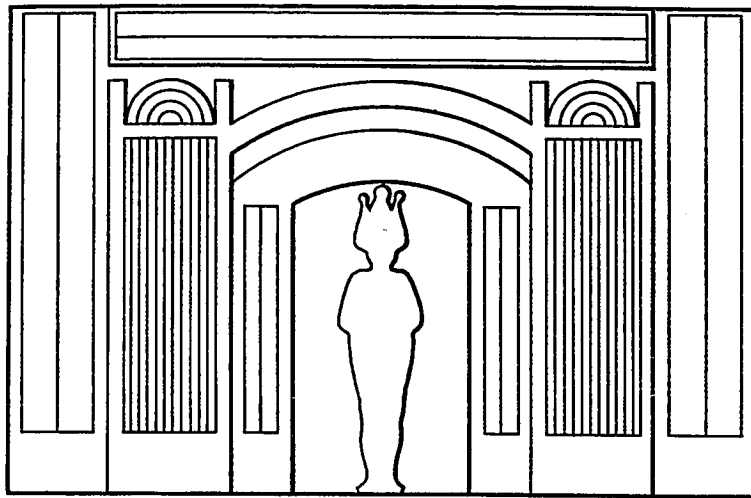


fig. 162

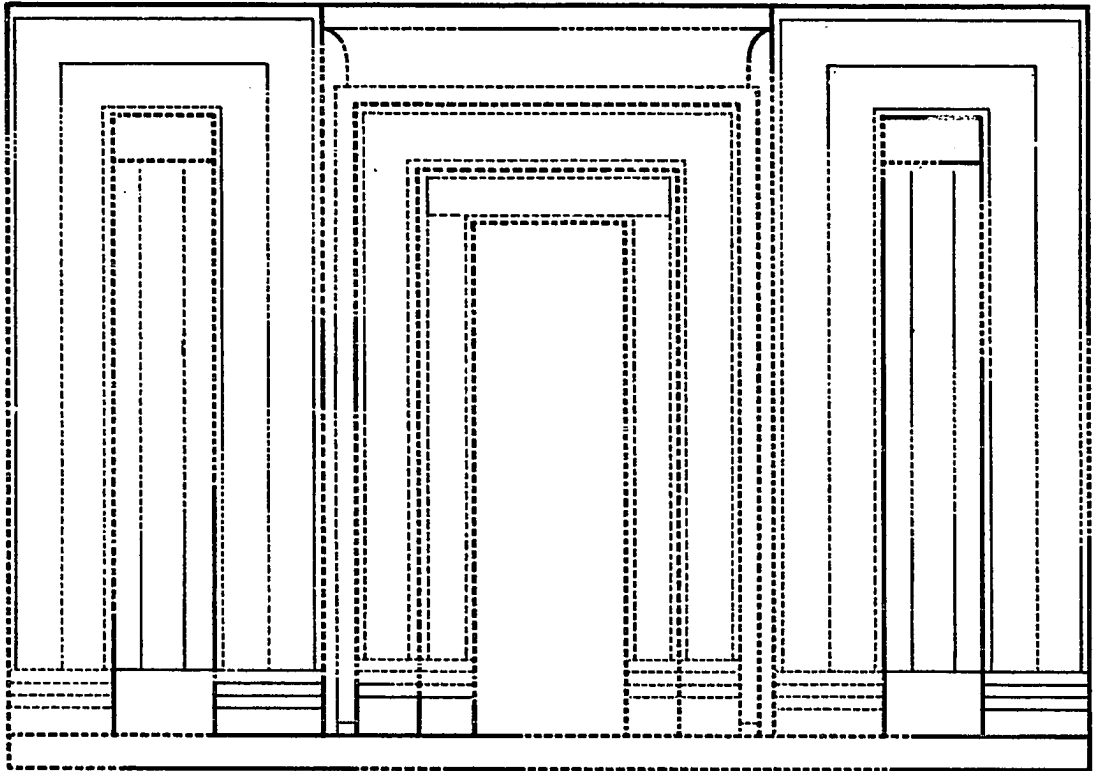


fig. 163

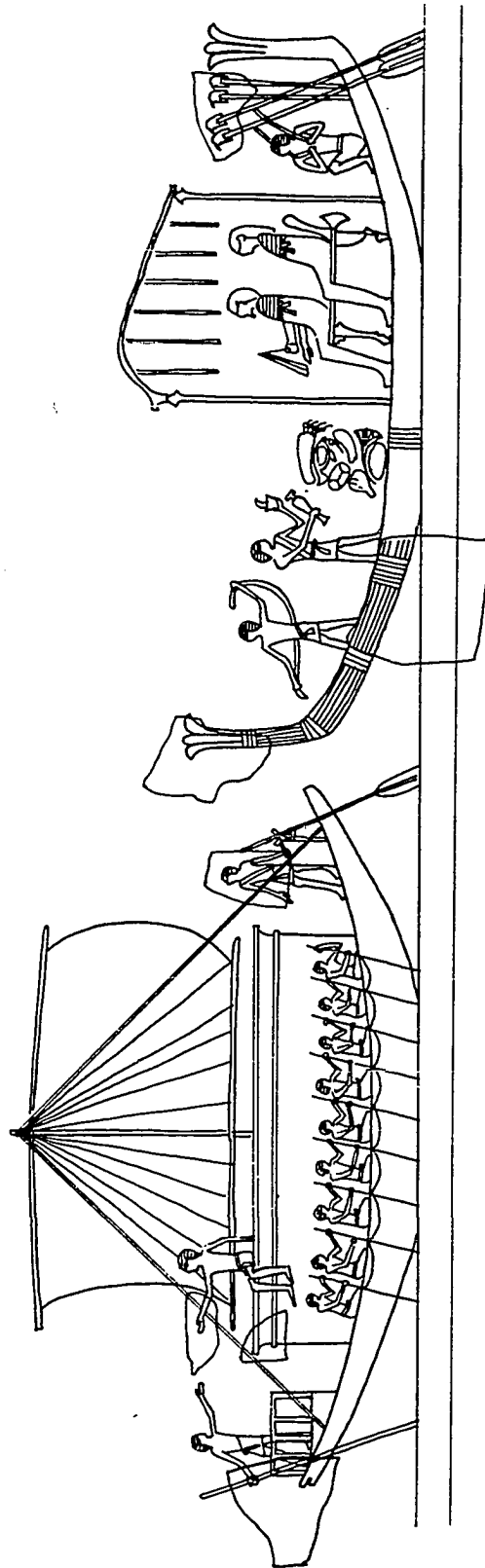


fig. 164

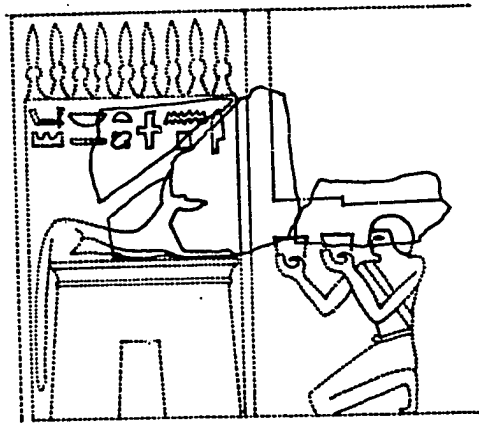


fig. 165

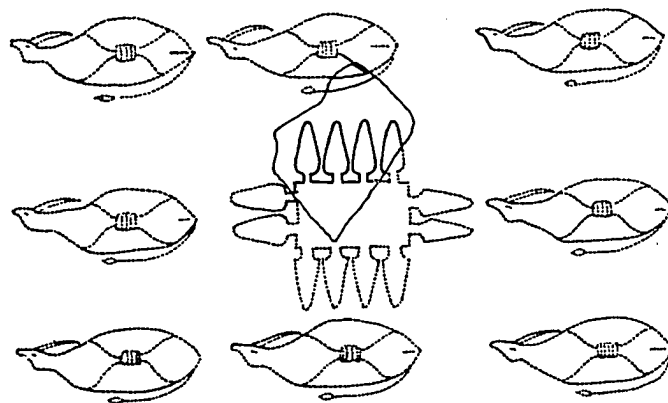


fig. 166

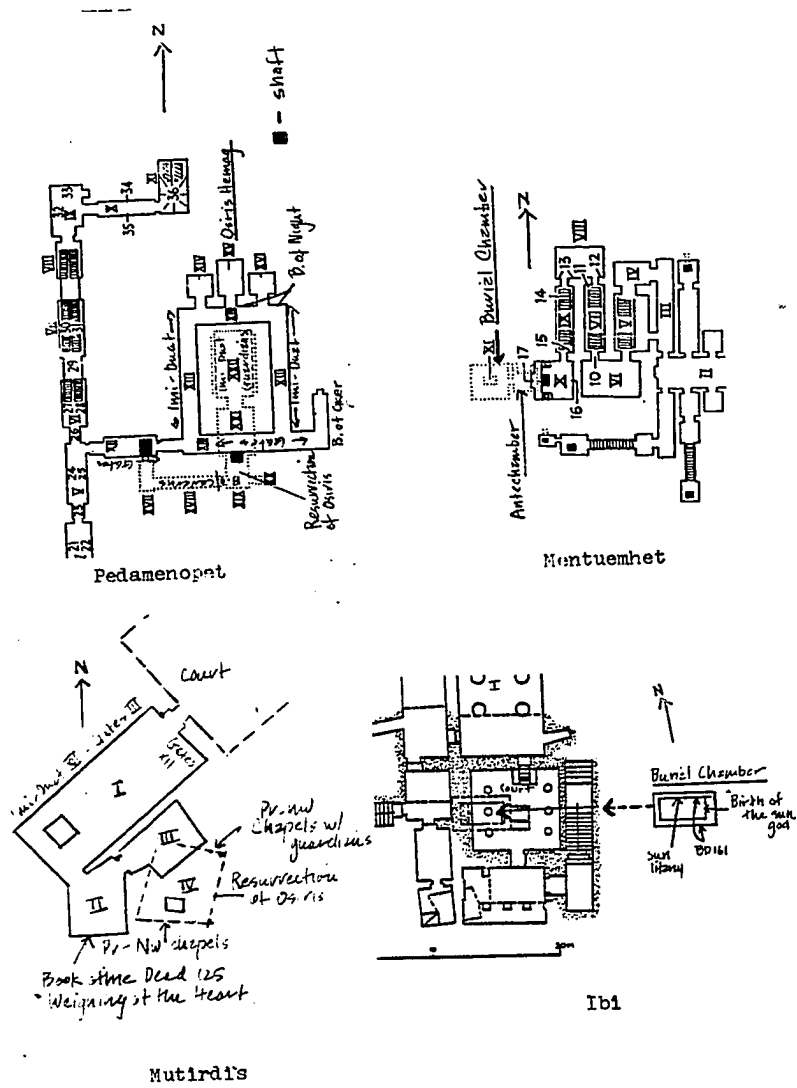
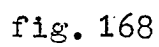


fig. 167



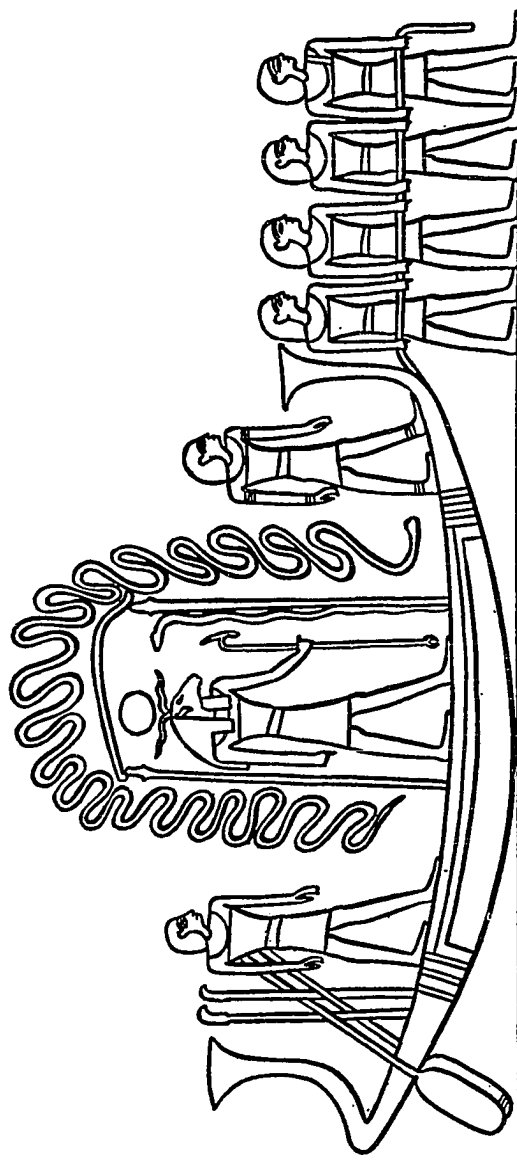


fig. 170

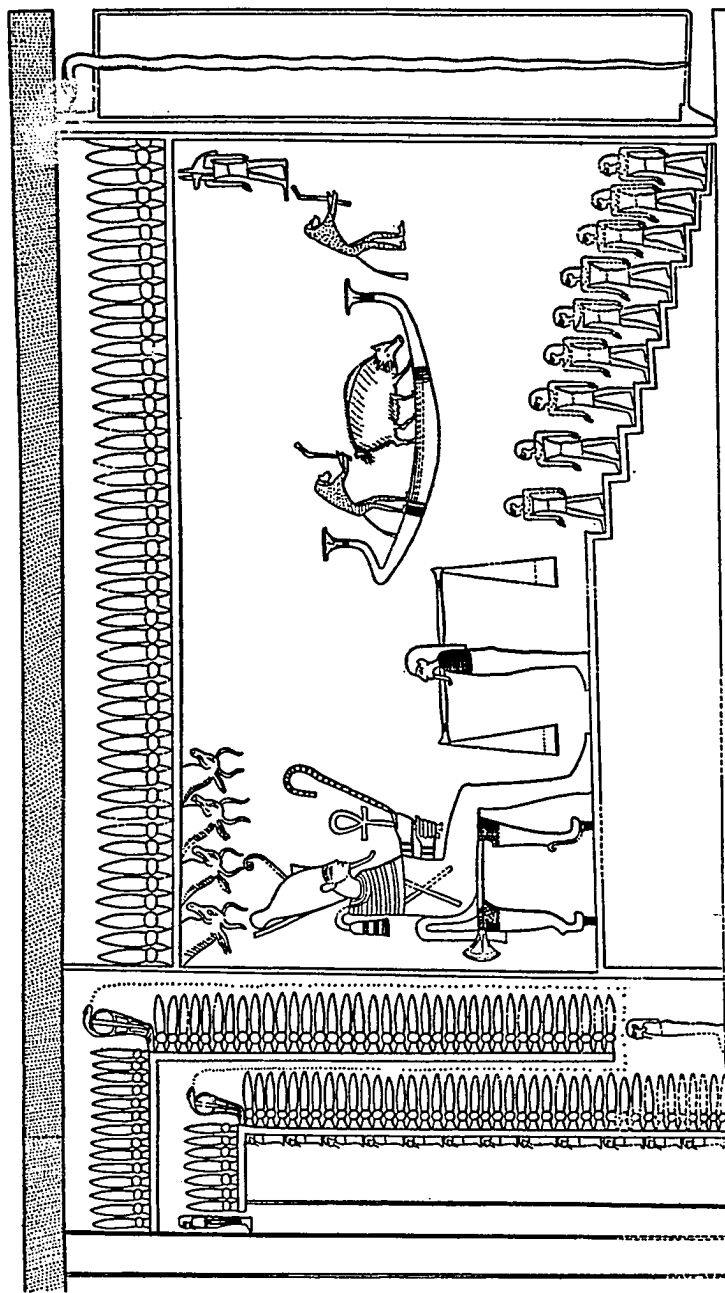


fig. 171

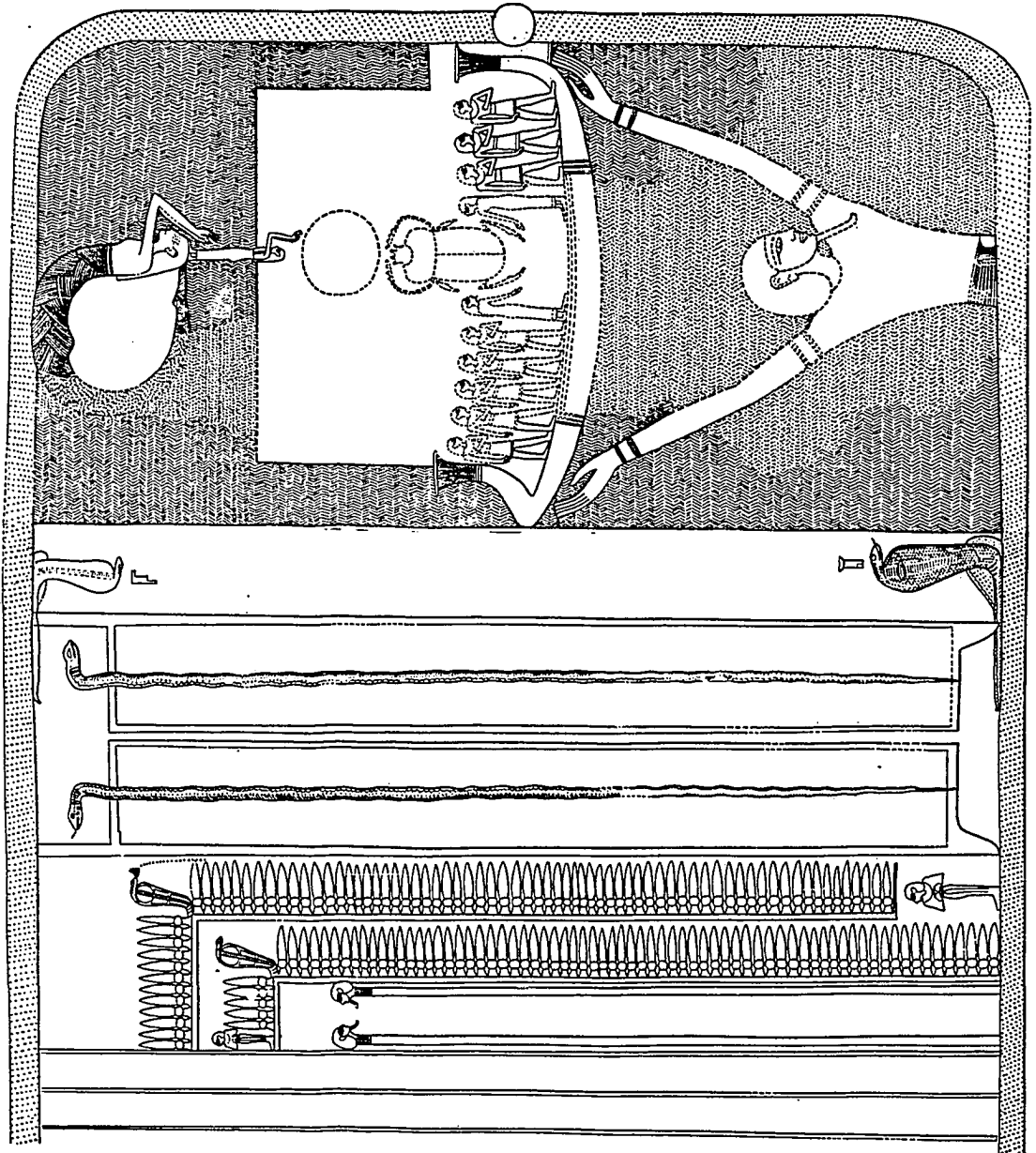


fig. 172

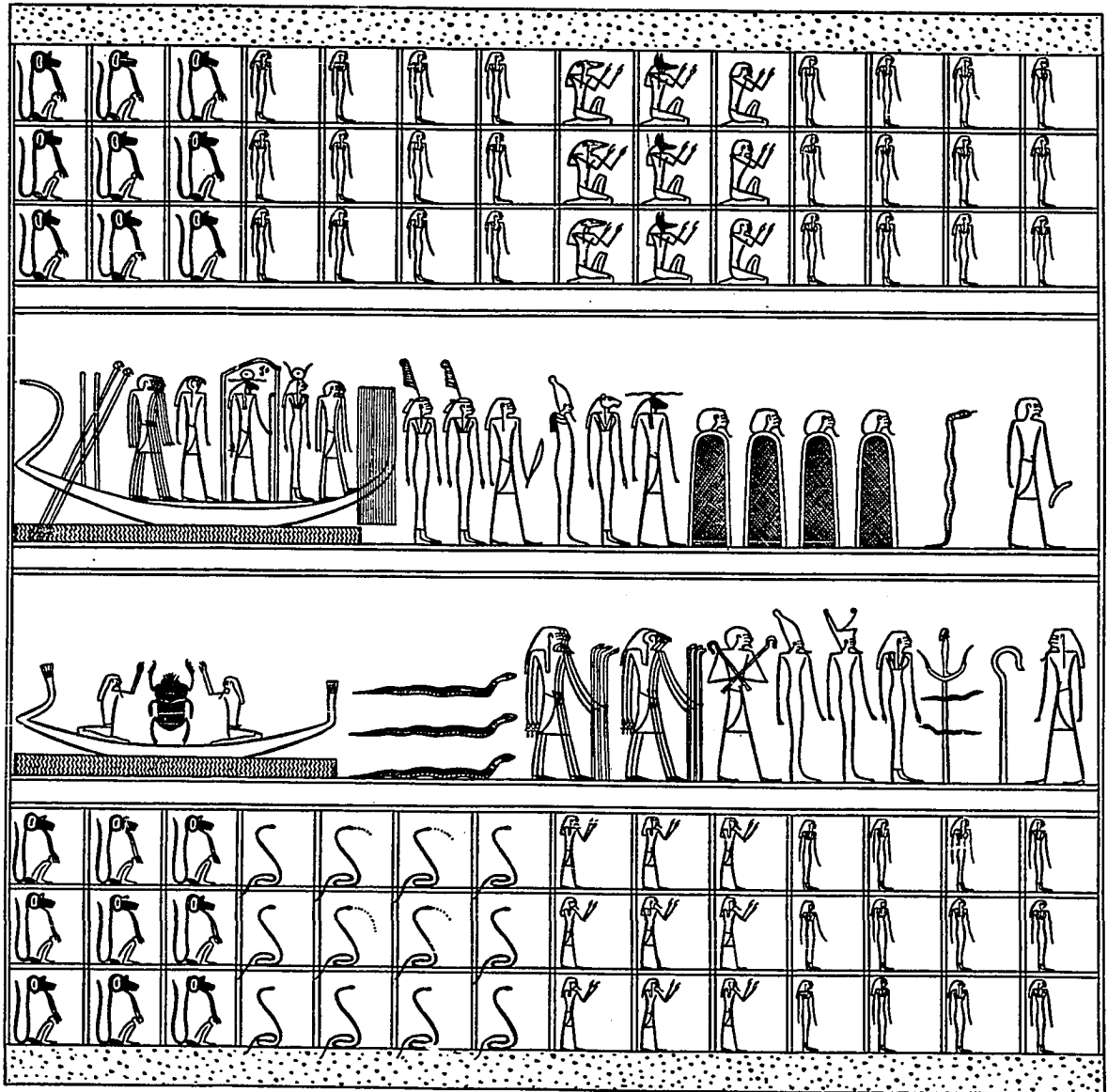


fig. 173

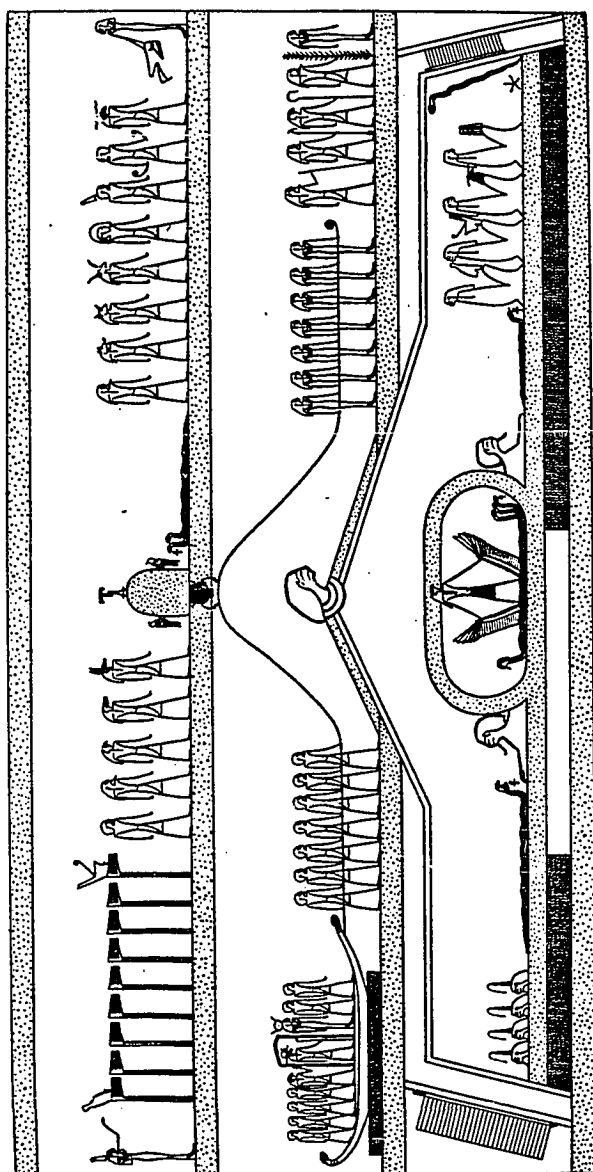


fig. 174

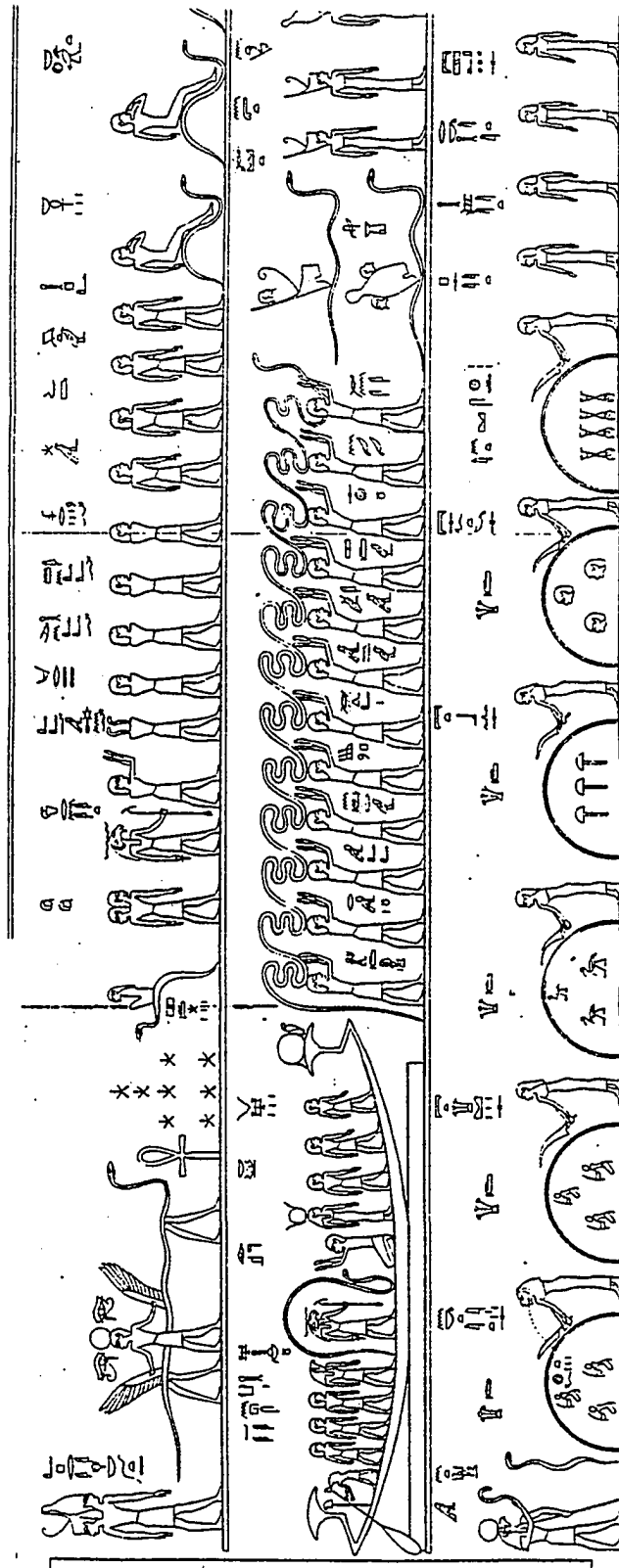


Fig.
175

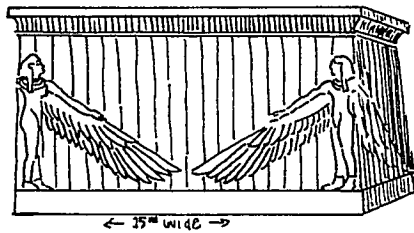


fig. 176

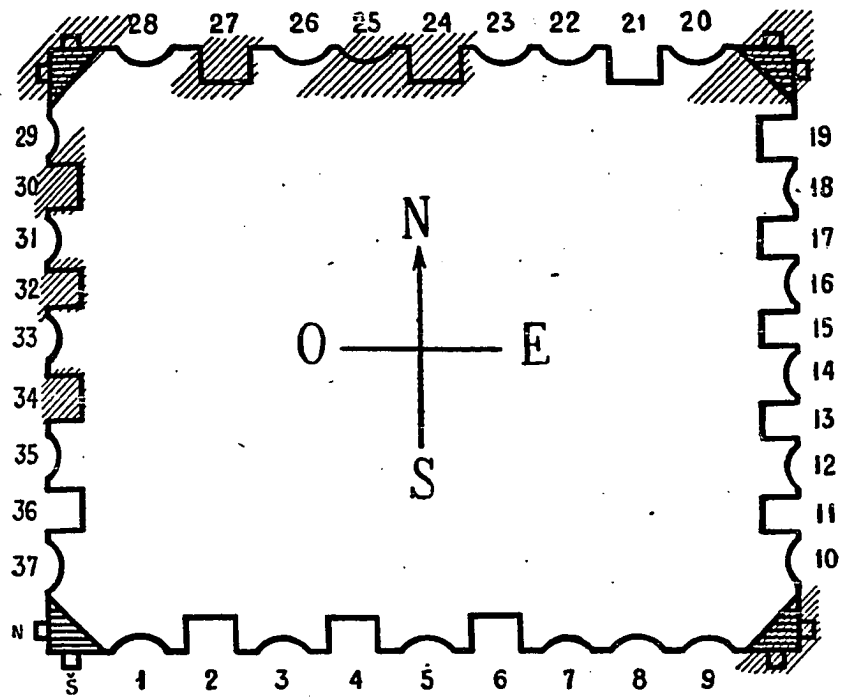


fig. 177

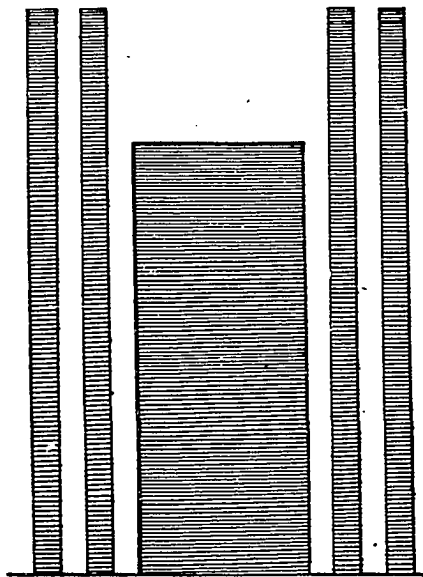


fig. 178

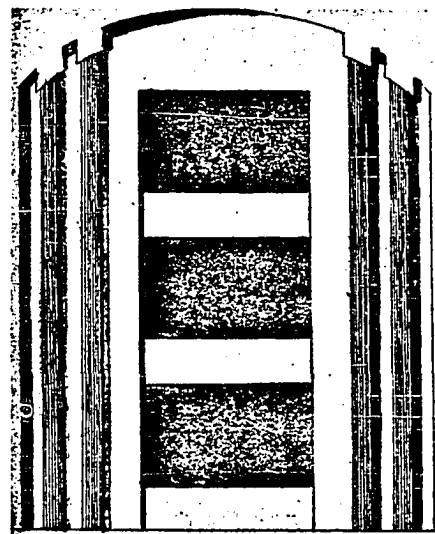


fig. 179

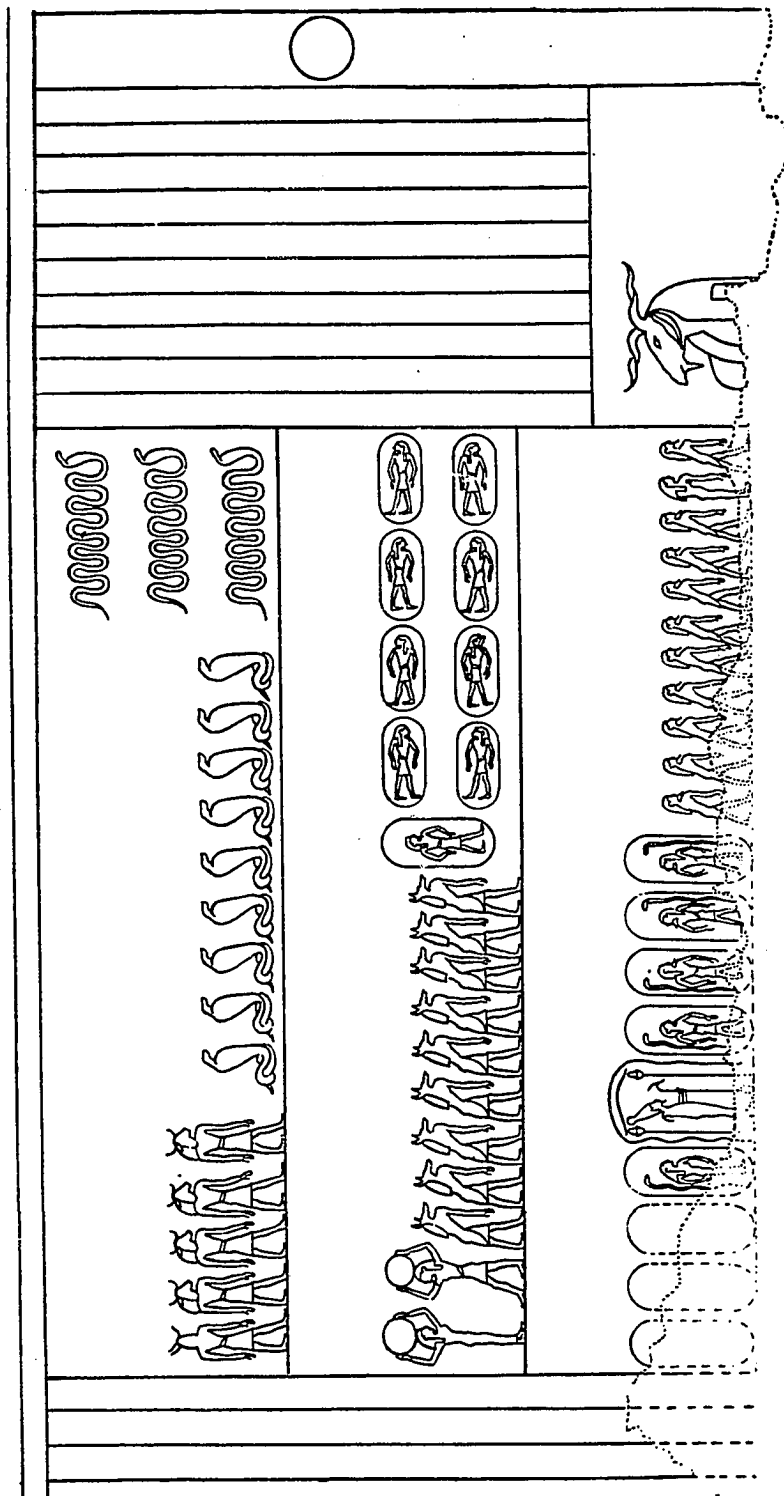
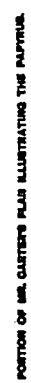


fig. 180



455

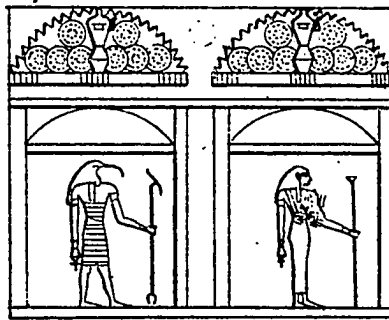


fig. 182

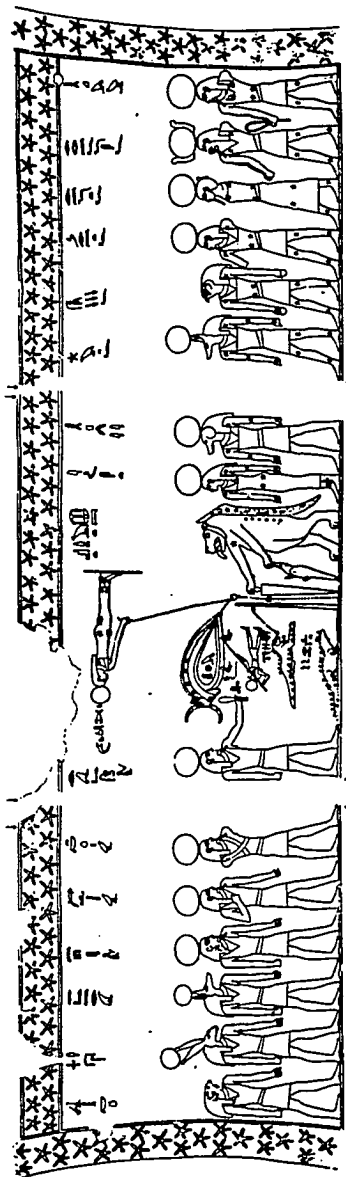


Fig. 183

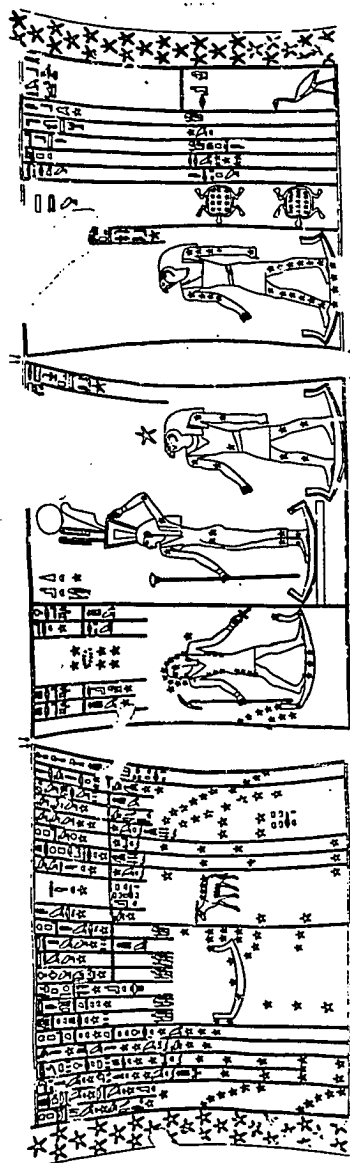


Fig. 184

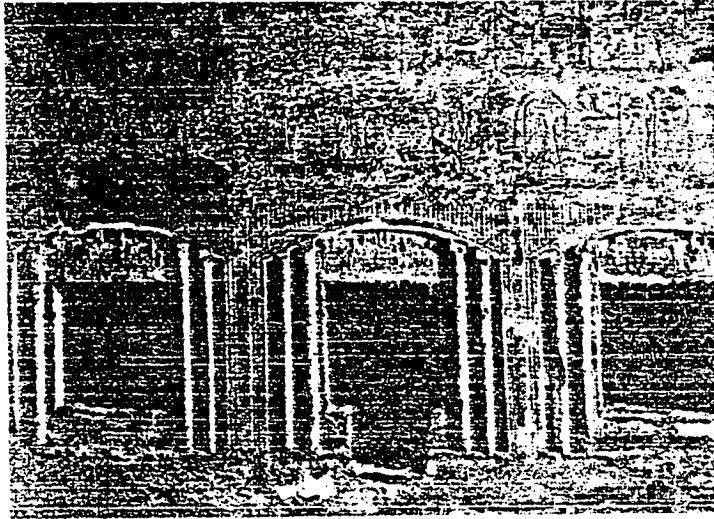


fig. 185

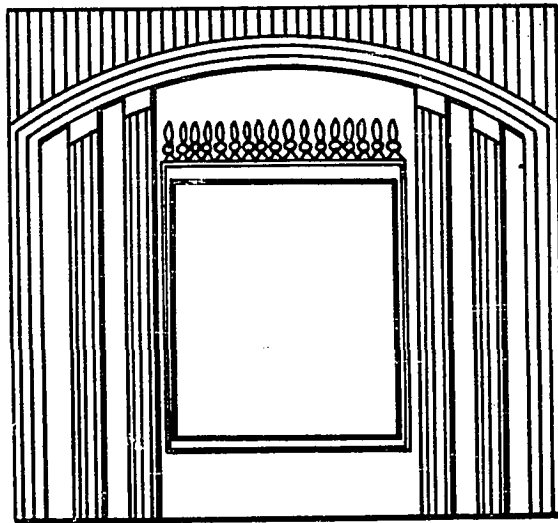


fig. 186



fig. 187

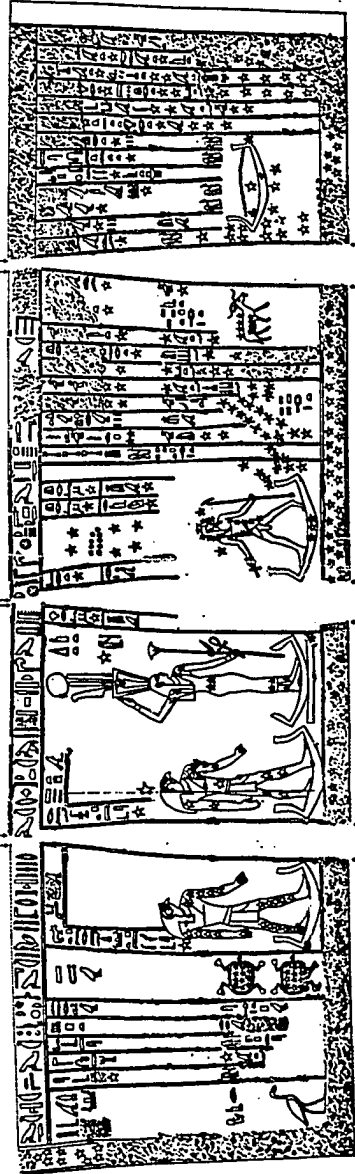


Fig. 188

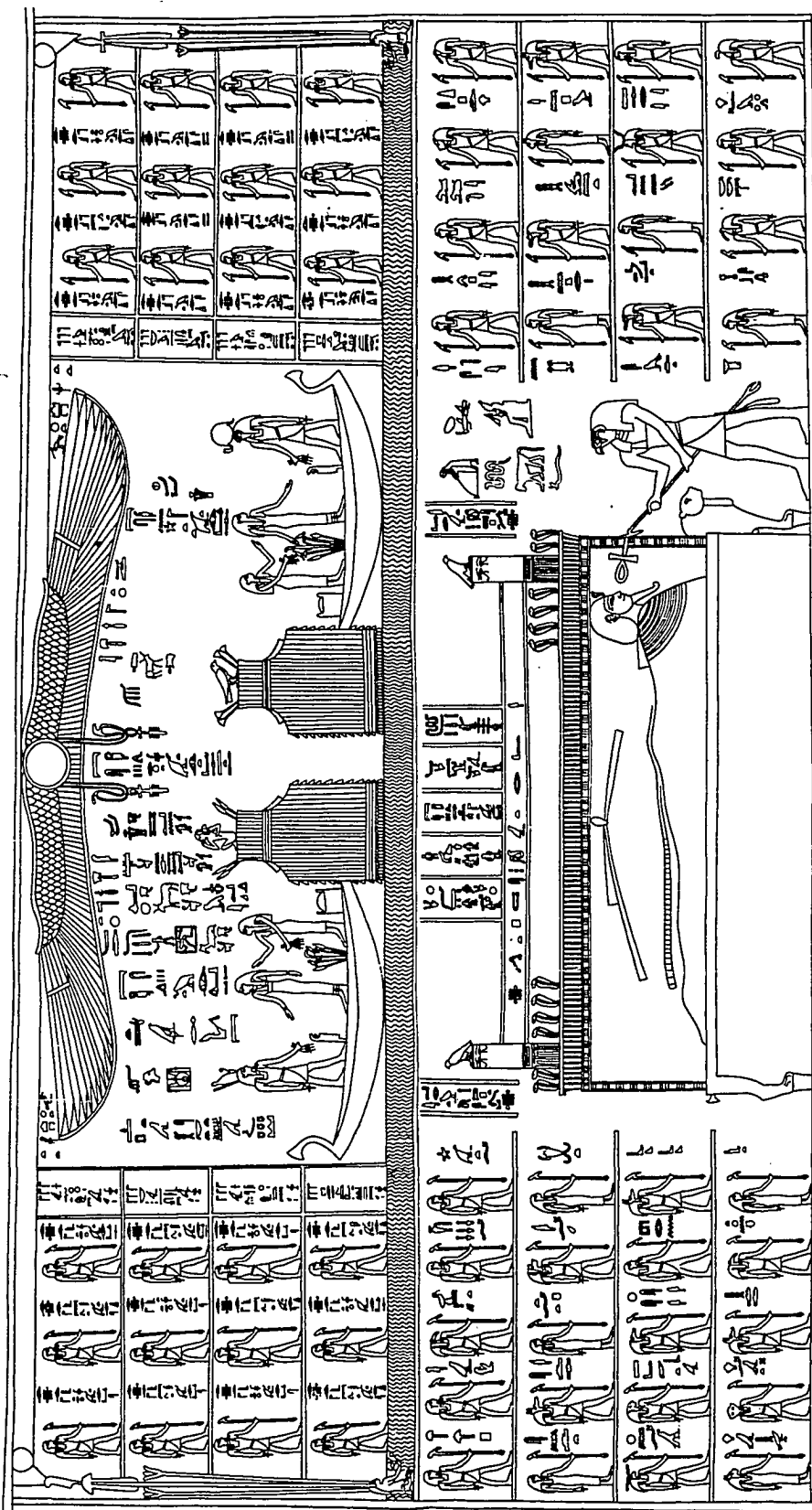


fig.
189

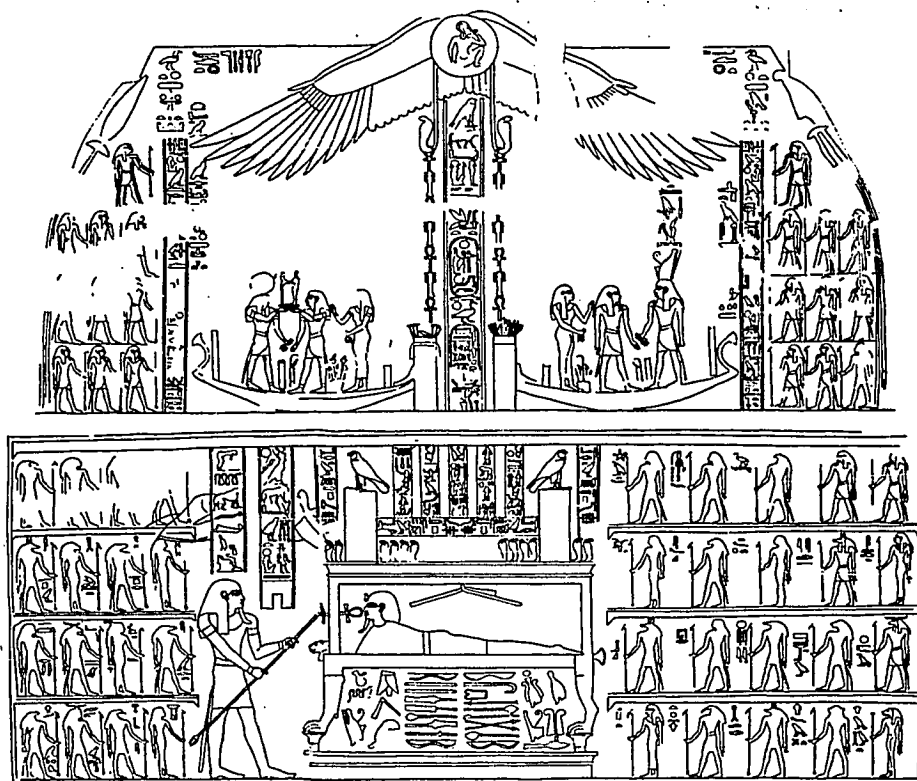


fig. 190

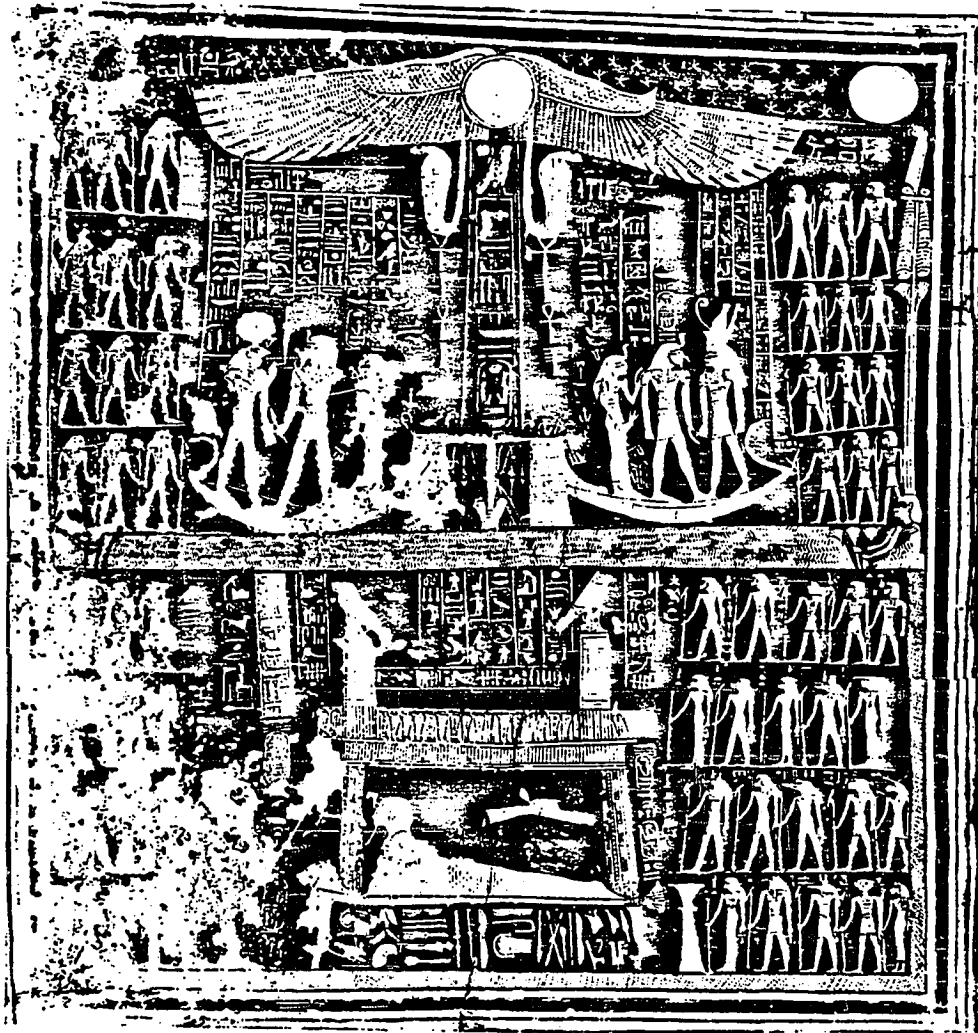


fig. 191



fig. 192

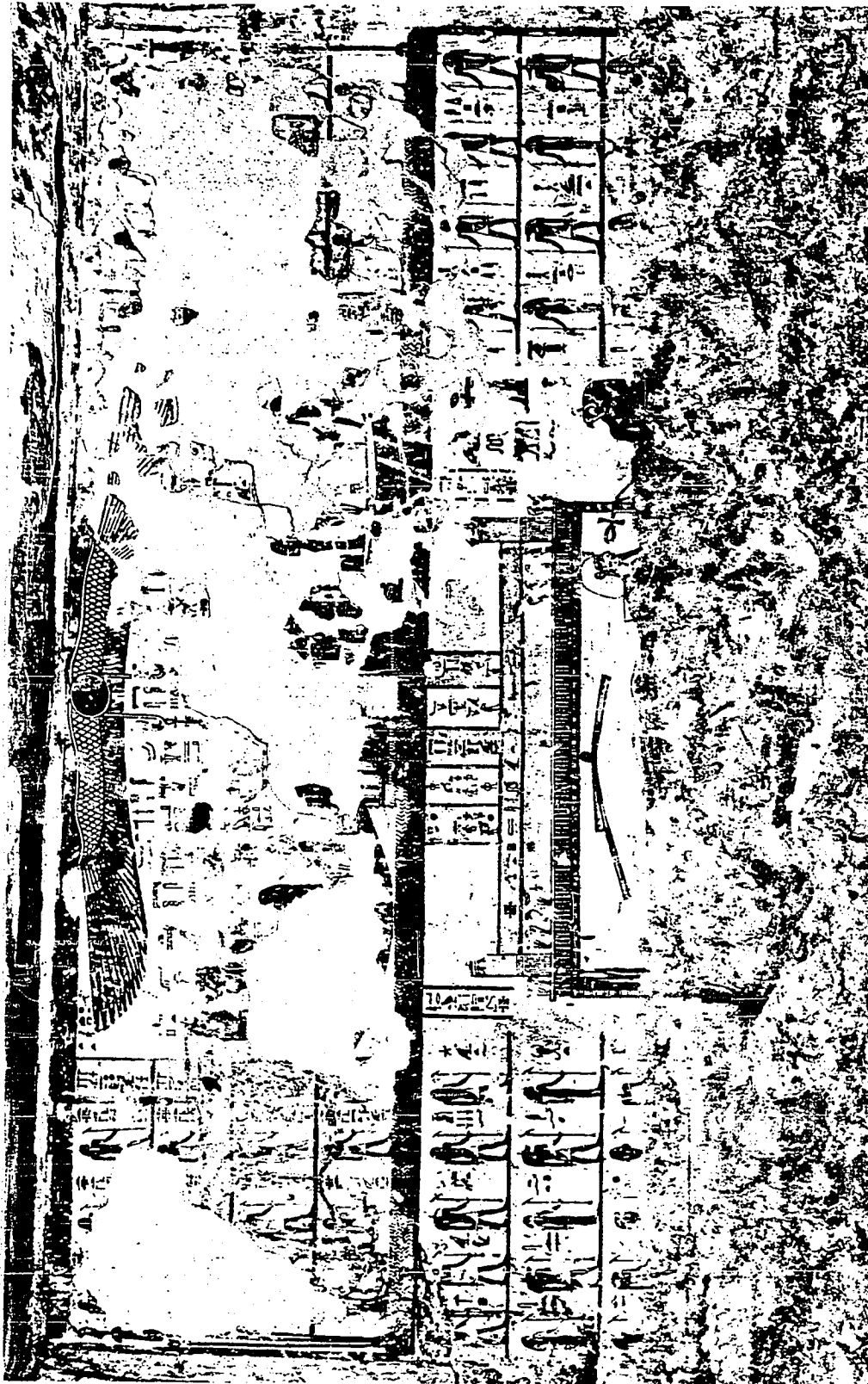


fig.
193

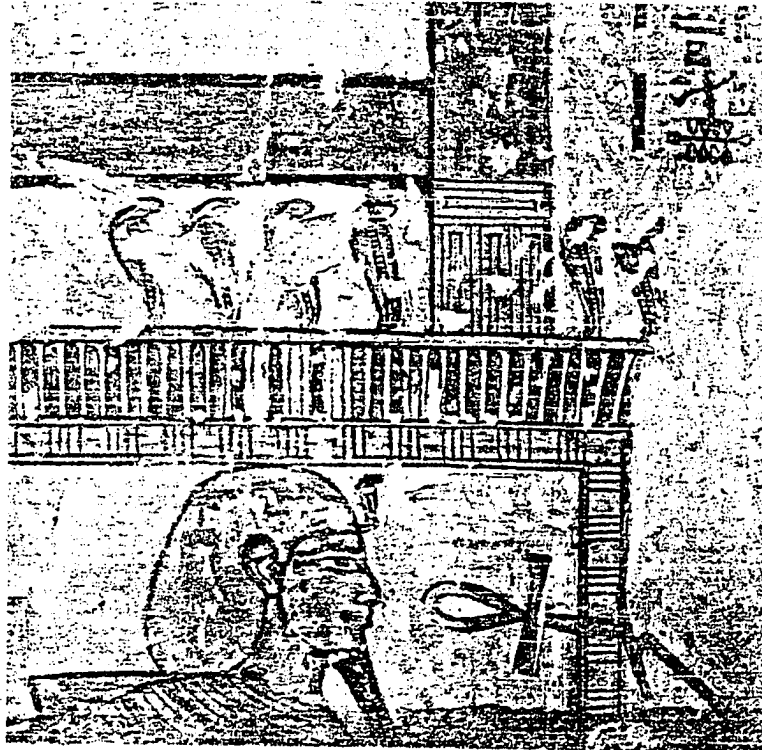


fig. 194

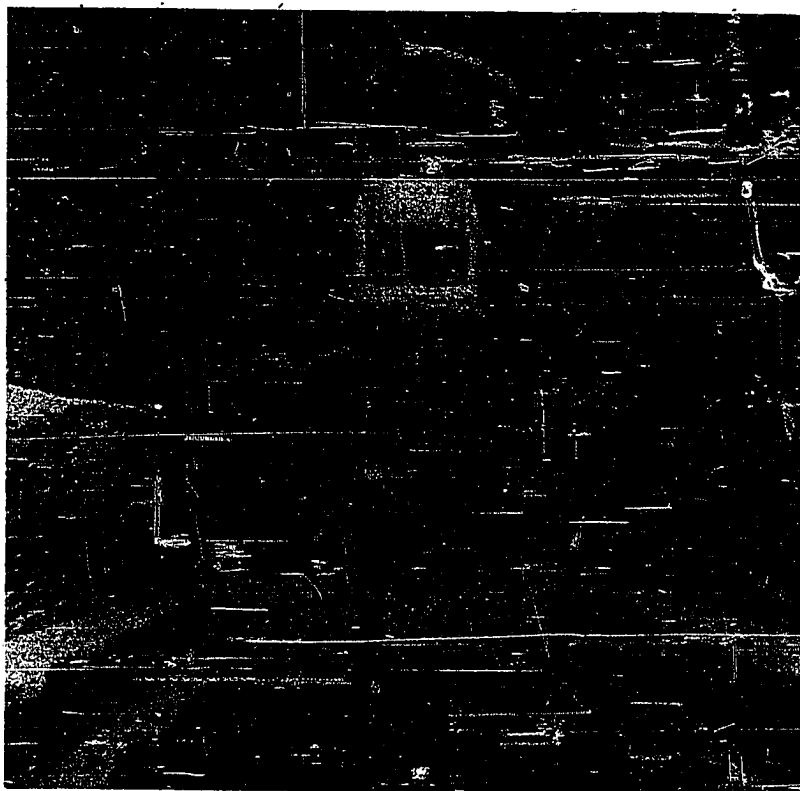


fig. 195

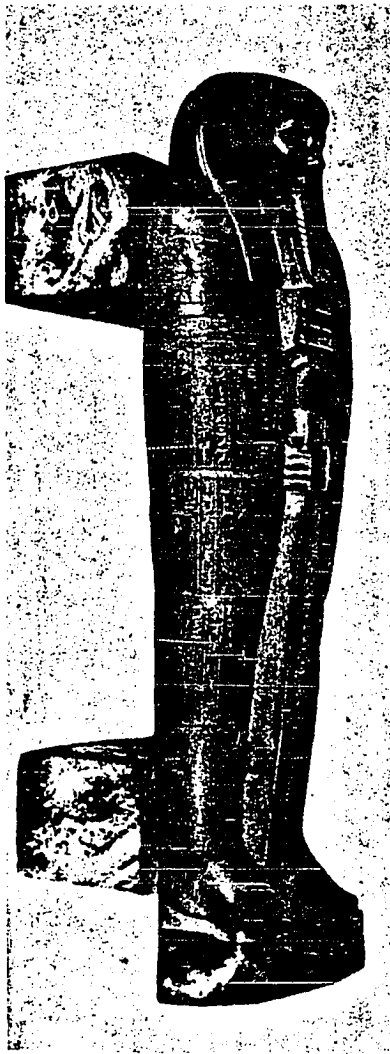


fig. 196

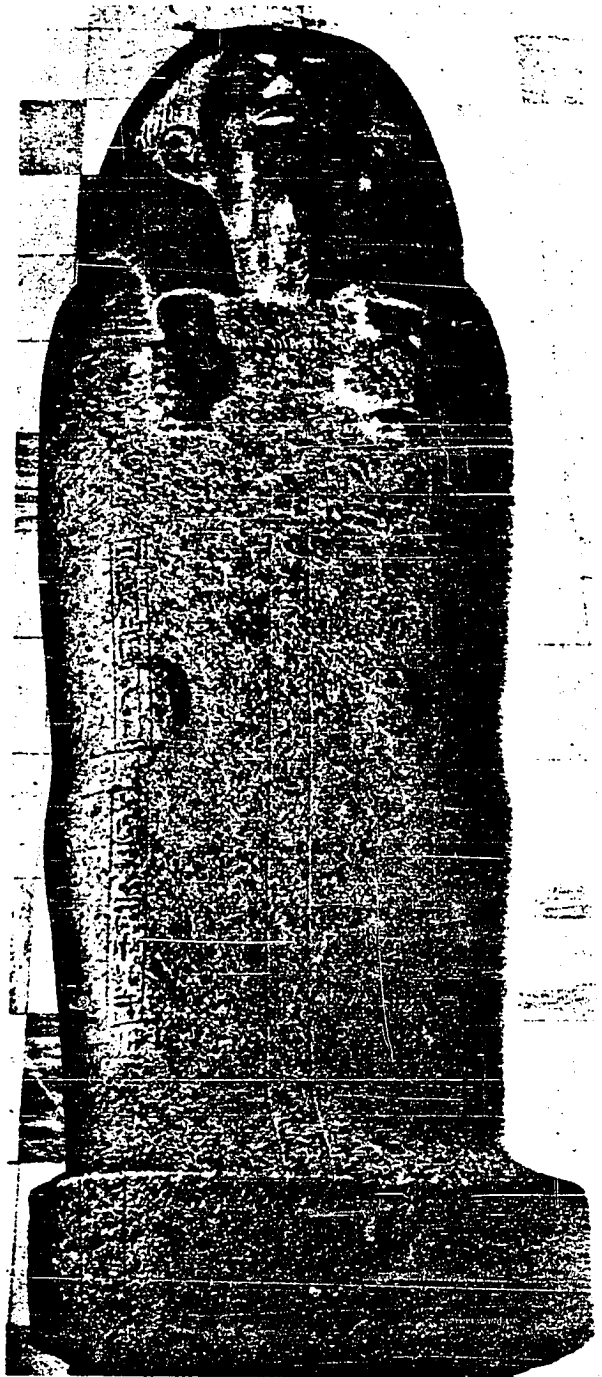
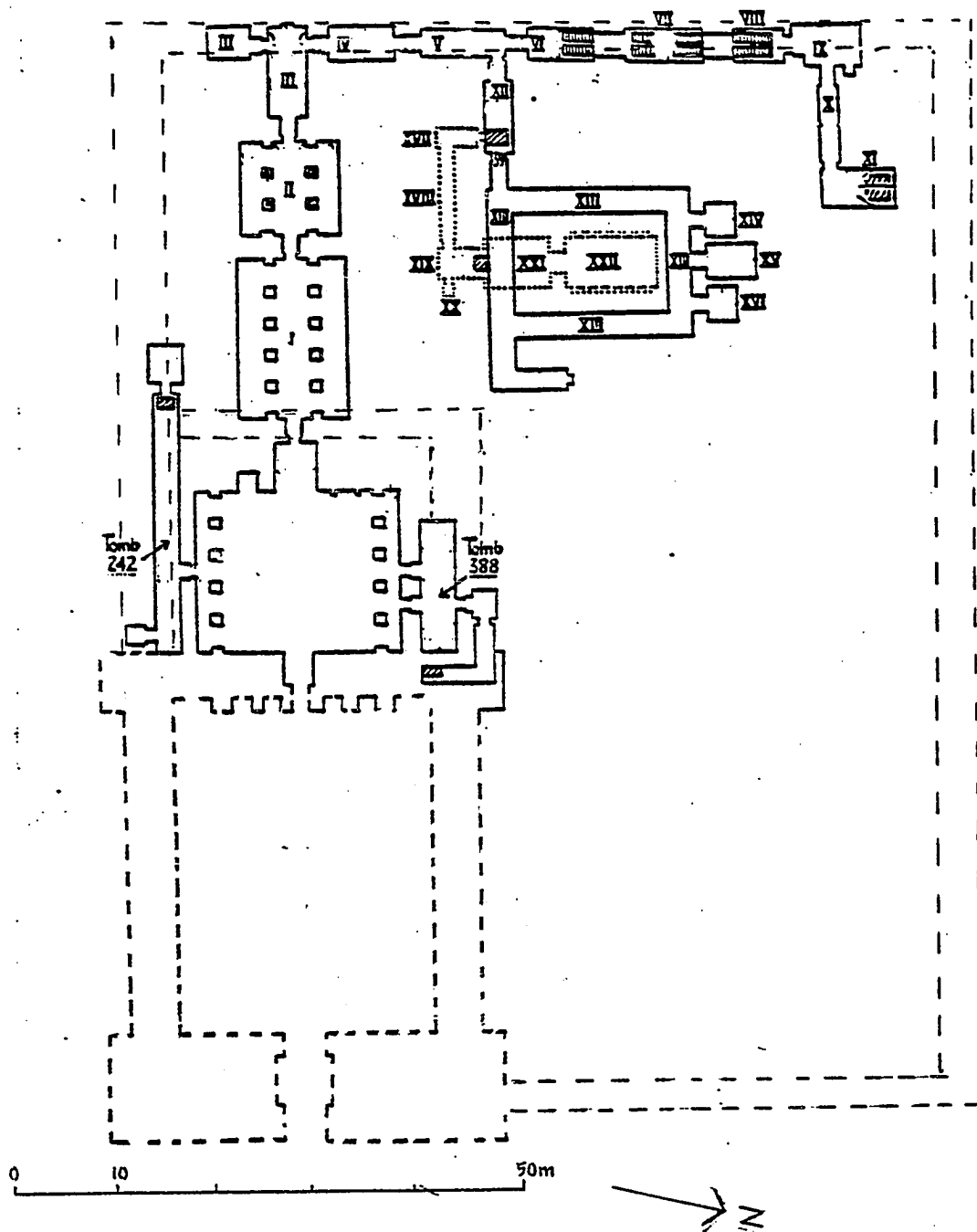
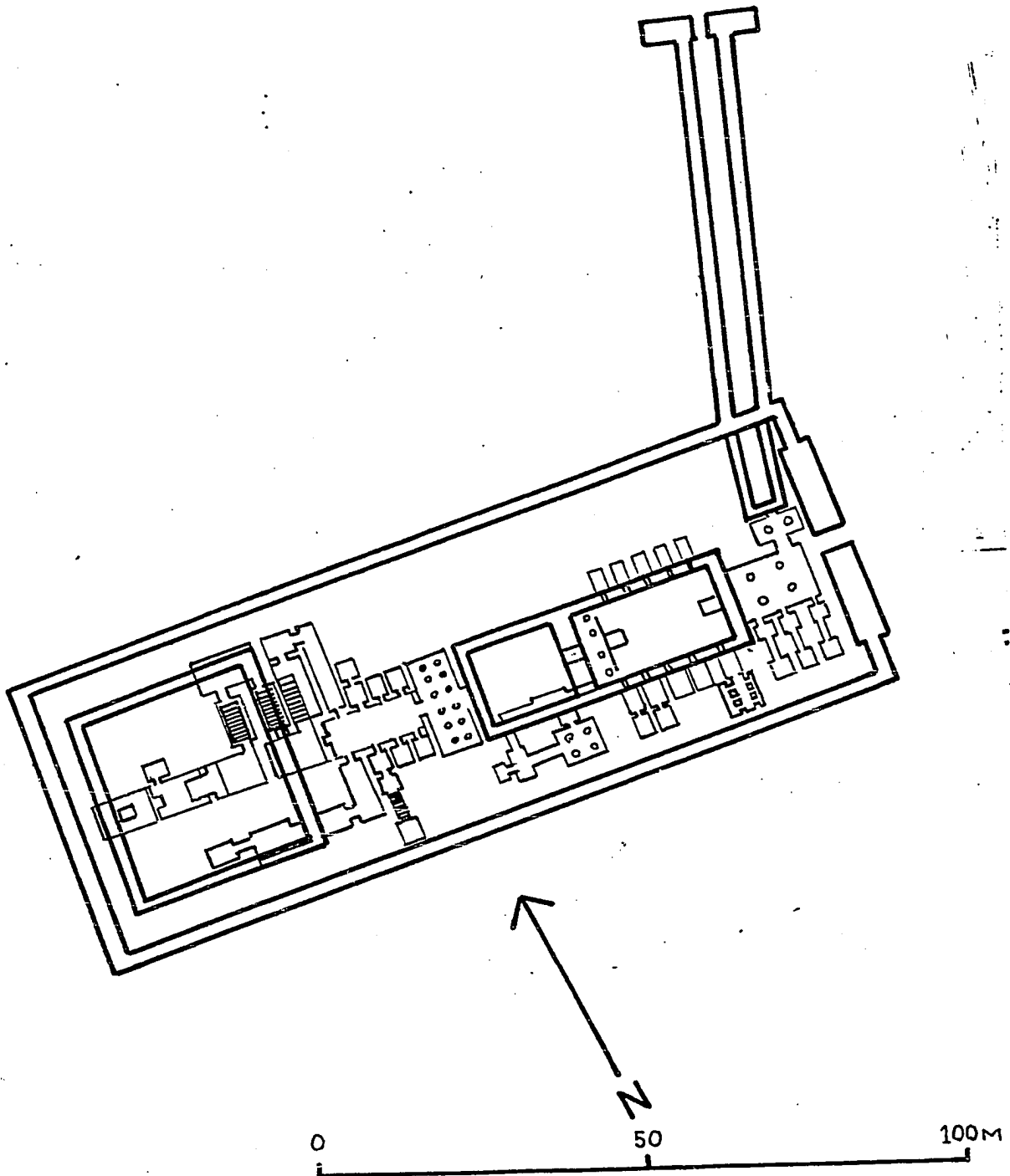


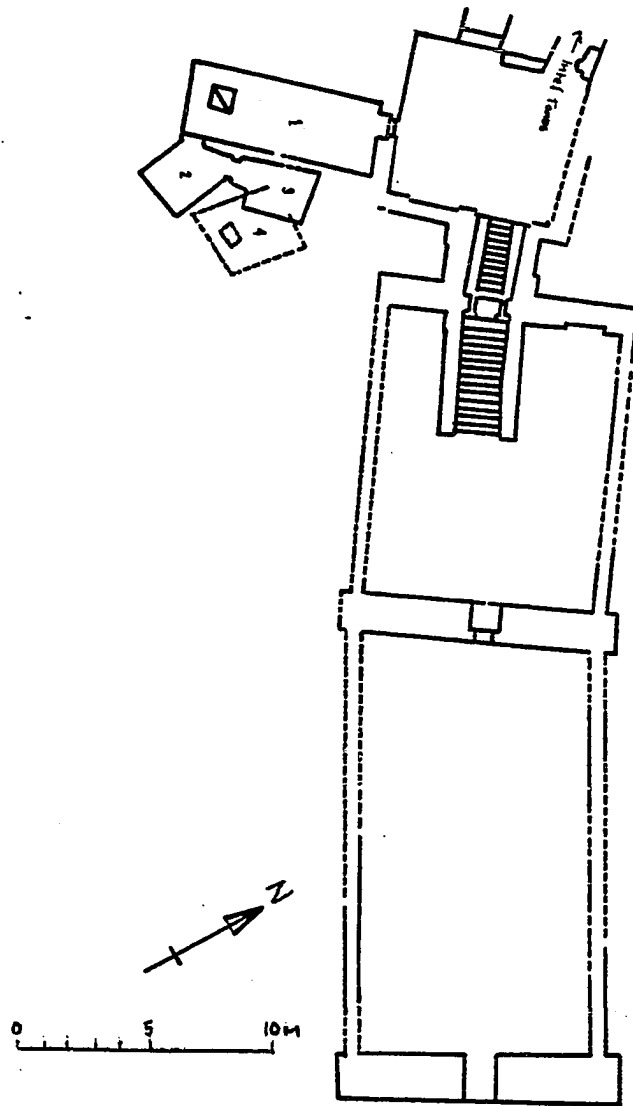
fig. 197



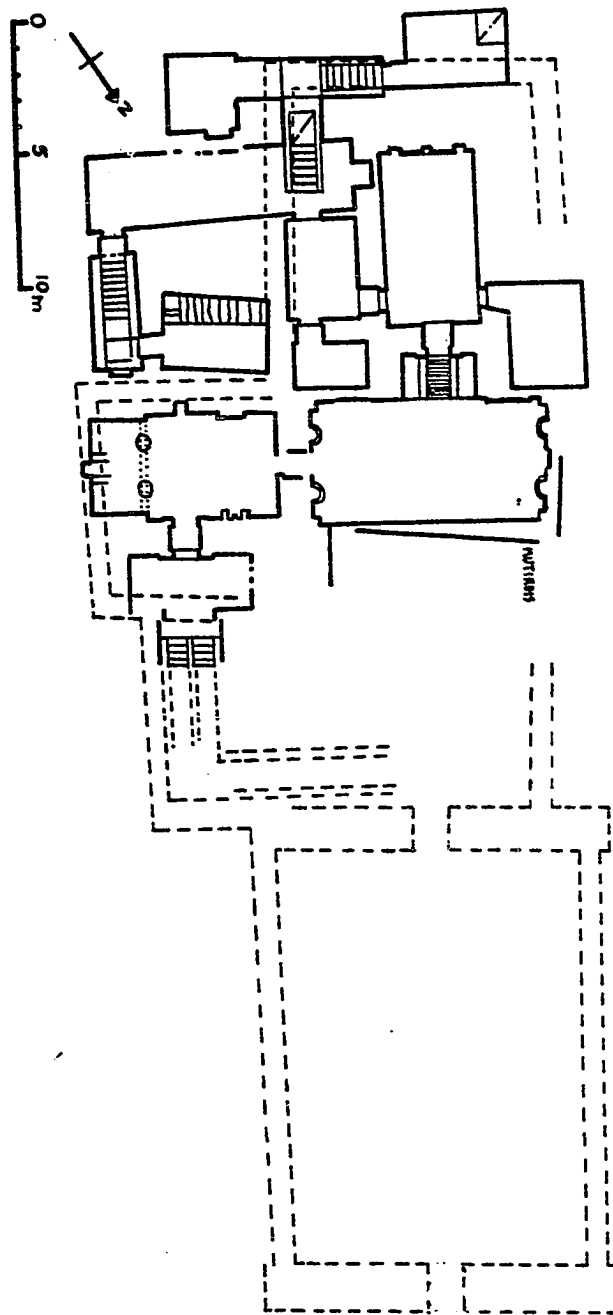
Appendix II (a)



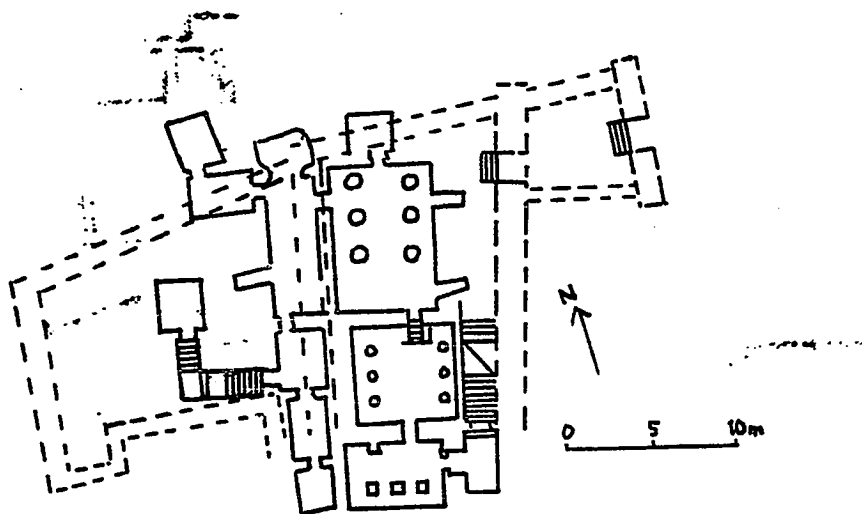
Appendix II (b)



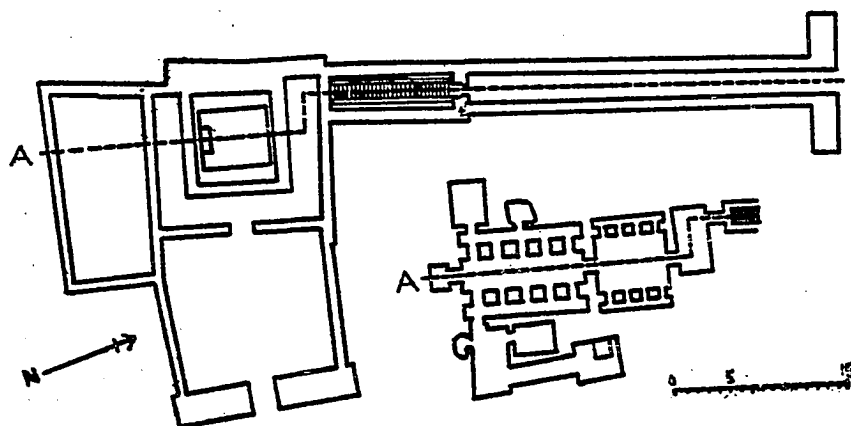
Appendix II (c)



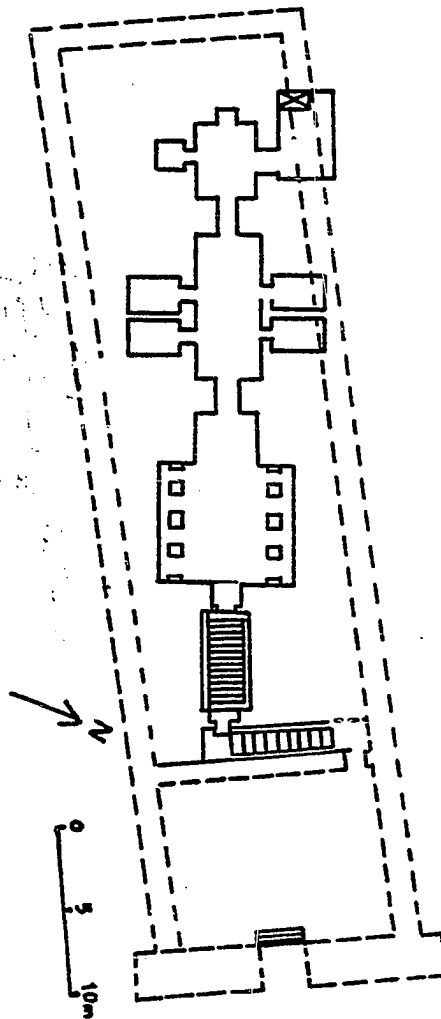
Appendix II (d)



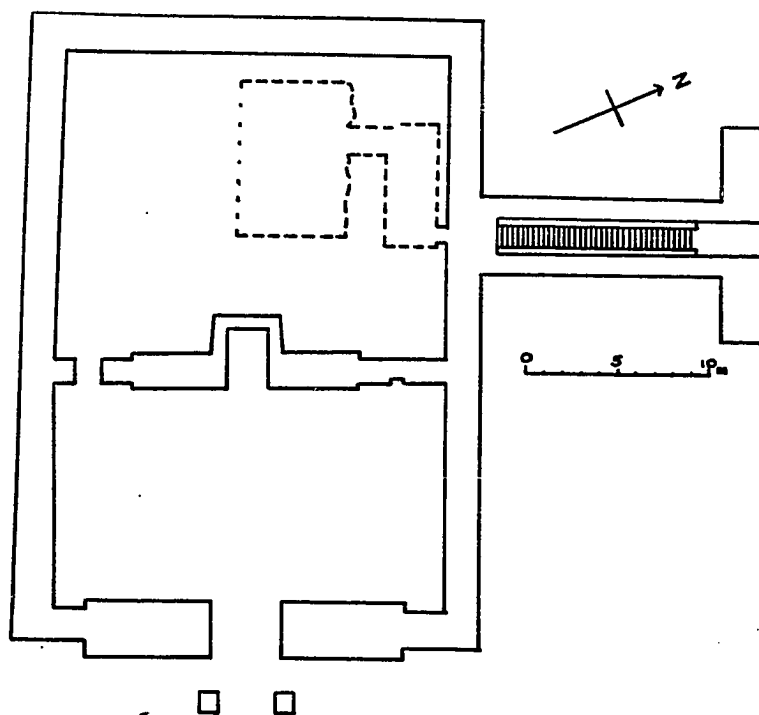
Appendix II (e)



Appendix II (f)



Appendix II (g)



Appendix II (h)

I. SUPERSTRUCTURE	Petaenopet	Kantionhet	Mutirdis	Easa	Tdi	Fabaas	Fadihorrennet	Sheshong
	East/West	East/West	East/West Slightly askew to N.	SW/NE • Axis hampered by Mutirdis	East/West	East/West Slightly askew to North	NE/SW	East/West
Orientation								
PYLON I								
Orientation	East	East	East	N. East	East	East	East	East
Dimensions	30 x 10.5M	33 x 5M	11.7 x 2.0M	12.9 x 1.7M	9 x 1.7M	16.5 x 3M	18 x 2.8M	17.2 x 3.1M
Material	Mudbrick	Mudbrick	Mudbrick faced w/ limestone alabaster	Mudbrick	Mudbrick	Mudbrick	Mudbrick	Mudbrick
ENTRANCE DOORWAY								
Type	arch (?)	composite arch	-					
Dimensions	10.5 x 4M		1.25 wide 2.0 deep					
Overall Dimensions	109 x 89M	127 x 48M	42 x 11M	43 x 17M	37 x 21M	43 x 24M	61 x 16M	23.3 x 11.7M
Enclosure Walls (Thickness)	4.75M	3M	± .75M	± .90M	1.5 - 1.8M	1M	1.55M	1.77M
FIRST COURTYARD								
Dimensions	30.5 x 24.5M	NA	12.7 x 10.2M	15.5 x 11	6 x 5.2	13 x 13.7	12.7 x 10	23.3 x 11.7
Details	central stairway 4.5 x 5m-9 steps descend to court level at E. end of court.				Irregular shape due to neighboring tomb.			
PYLON II								
(between Pylon or doorway entrance)	30.5 x 5.5M	none	12 x 1.6M	13.2 x 1.6M	4.2 x 2M (north side, south destroyed)	Doorway w. end of court 2.25 wide	13.2 x 1.5	11 x 2M
Doorway Dimensions	1.75 - at 2.5M widens to 3 M wide.		1.25 wide	1.2M	Doorway 2.0 x 2.0		Doorway not axial - in N. part of wall 1.5 x 1.5M	Doorway 2.25 wide to center of arch

Appendix III (a)

Pedamenonet	Mentuemhet	Mutirdia	Basa	Tbi	Fabasa	Pedihorresnet	Sheshonq
Part of substructure	None	12.75 x 10.25 Niche - N. wall east end 1.5m width	Irregular shape ± 15m wide	19 x 10m wall destroyed on South Encloses subterranean court	14.7 x 12.5 Encloses retaining wall of subterranean court	21.5 x 13M	16.8 x 20.2M Niche w. of doorway
None	None	None		Court III irregular shape to conform to tomb 192. 11 x 15M			Court III 18.5 x 13M Roughly above underground apartments
None	18 x 3M Composite arch	None	None	None	12.5 x 2.5M Doorway 2M wide	None	12.2 x 2.2M
access directly from forecourt Variant A	Ramp descending from N. pylon Variant B Ramp 75 x 6M	Stairway descending to W. from center of court Variant A Stairway 9.5M length, 1.7 wide Landing at mid-point, 1.25M wide	Stairway beyond Pylon II Variant A	Stairway descending to S. from SE corner court I Variant A Stairway 3.8 length 2M wide	Ramp and Stairway from N. pylon Variant B Ramp 31.5M length Stairway 11 x 3M	Stairway descending from NE corner of Court II Variant A Landing at midpoint of stairway, turns to west.	Ramp and Stairway from N. pylon Variant B Overall length 13.2M

SECOND COURTYARD
Dimensions

Details

ADDITIONAL
COURTYARDS

PYLON III
(North Pylon)
Dimensions
Entrance doorway

ACCESS TO
SUBTERRANEAN
ROOMS
Variant A/B

Appendix III (b)

II. SUBSTRUCTURE		Pedamenopet	Kentuehset	Mutirdie	Basa	Ibi	Pabasa	Pedihorresnet	Sheshong
<u>LOBBY</u>									
Dimensions		none	7.5 x 4M 2 columns	none	4.5 x 2M no columns	2 x 3.5 no columns	1 x 1.5	1.5 x 2M (landing at end of stairway)	None
Details		none	11.5 x 9M 4 Fluted columns 3 chapels in south wall	none	6.8 x 4M 2 columns Kathoric niche Osiride statue	4.2 x 7.1 3 Kathoric pillars Statue niche west wall Engaged Hathoric Pillars E, W wall	3 x 5.8 no columns		2.8 x 6.7
<u>VESTIBULE</u>									
Dimensions		east/west 24.7 x 13.5	east/west 22.0 x 11M	east/west 7.1 x 7	north/south 4.8 x 8.5 6M deep	north/south 7.4 x 7M	north/south 6.7 x 8.5M	east/west 7 x 8M	north/south 8.5 x 6
Details		Doorway from forecourt	Ramp down from vestibule	Stairway from forecourt	Doorway from vestibule	Doorway from vestibule	Doorway from vestibule	Doorway from vestibule	Doorway from vestibule
Side Aisles/ Chapels		4 pillars w/ antae on N & S sides of court	5 chapels along N & S sides of court Chapel A, additional room w/ 4 pillars	None	No side aisles 2 engaged half-columns on N and S walls	3 columns on E and W sides of court	3 pillars w/ antae on E and west sides of court	3 pillars w/ antae on N and South sides of court	3 pillars w/ antae on E and west sides of court
Portico/Portal Alcove		Portal alcove w/ vaulted roof	Fillared portico on west.	None		3 steps down at area of alcove	2 steps down alcove area	Portal alcove 3.3 x 3.6 wide vaulted roof	
Status Niches		Niche S. of doorway to Room I	Statue niches E. wall, either side doorway from vestibule			Statue niche, W wall on court			

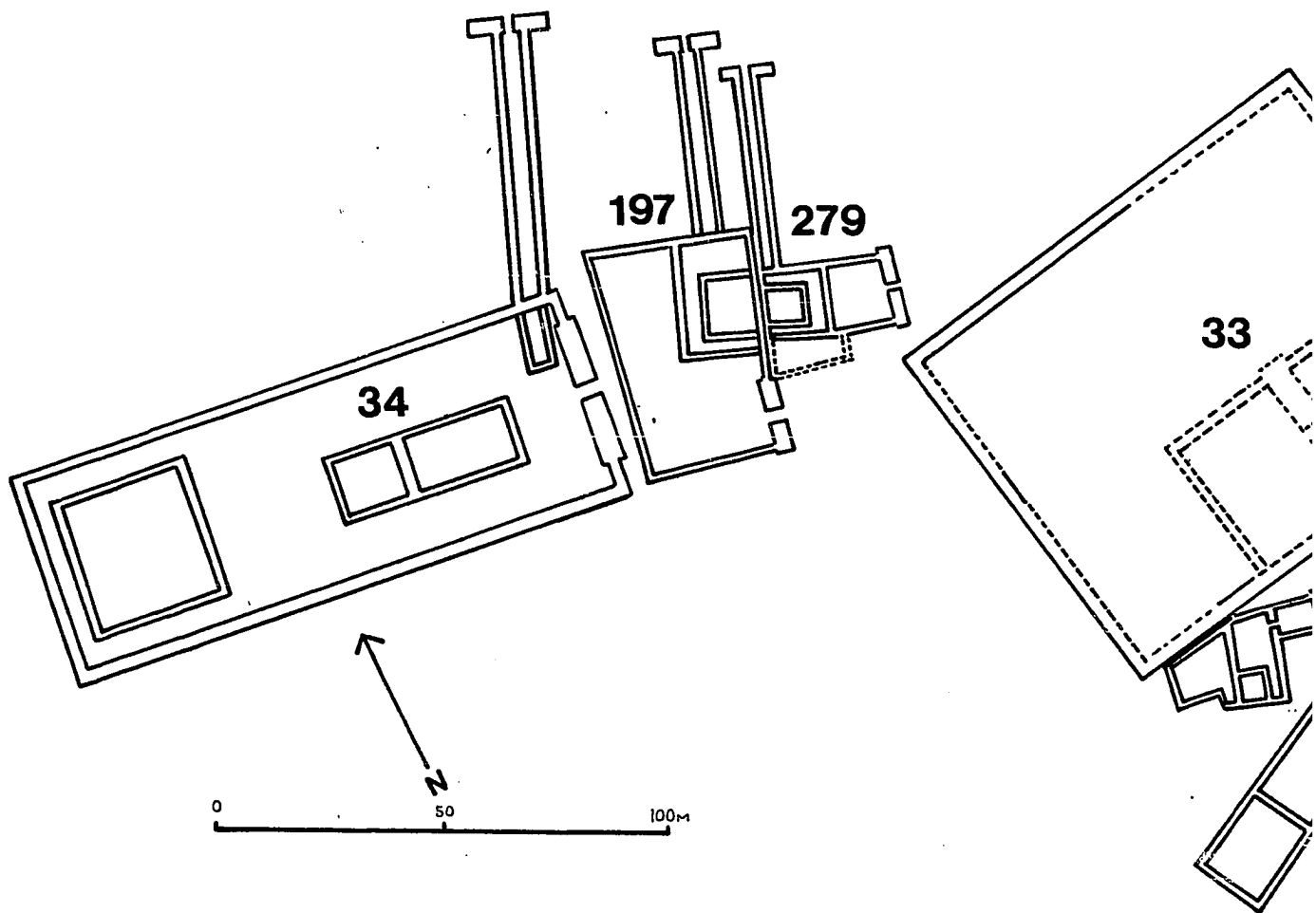
Appendix III (c)

	Pedamenopet	Mentuashet	Mutirdis	Basa	Ibi	Pabasa	Pedihorreane%	Sheshong
<u>SUNKEN COURT</u> cont. False doors	North of doorway to Rm. I.	East wall N. of entrance to Court II	none	none	North wall West of door to Room I		East wall, North and South of door from entrance stairway	NA
<u>SECOND COURT</u>	none	Located to West of first court. 11 x 13M No evidence side chapels	none	none	none	none	none	none
<u>CULT ROOMS</u> <u>ROOM I</u> Dimensions Pillars/ Columns Side chapels	16.25 x 10.8 2 rows of 4 pillars w/ antae none	(longitudinal) 15.0 x 6M 2 rows of 6 columns none	7.7 x 3M none	3.5 x 6.4M	12 x 7.2M 2 rows of 3 columns	8 x 11M 2 rows of 4 pillars w/ antae 2 chapels in west wall	3.5 x 8.5 none Side chapels w/ shafts on West and South	NA
<u>ROOM II</u> Dimensions Pillars Side chapels	9.9 x 9.5 2 rows of 2 pillars none	14 x 5M none Side chapels on N and S. some w/ stairways to secondary burials	Irregular shape approx. 2.2 x 2.5M	2.7 x 4M	none	none	4.5 x 3.5 Chapel w/ shaft south wall	NA
<u>ROOM III</u>	3.9 x 8.9 (deep)	13 x 3M (longitudinal)	none	2.7 x 3.7M	none	none	none	NA
<u>SHRINE IN AXIS</u> False Door/ Statue niches	(niche in room III) West wall. False door w/ offering bearers at sides.	(Room X) West wall. Niche w/ statue of Osiris	no shrine	none	2.7 x 2.2	1.7 x 2M	1 x 2M	NA

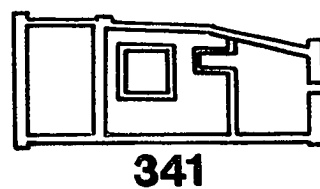
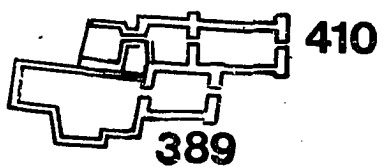
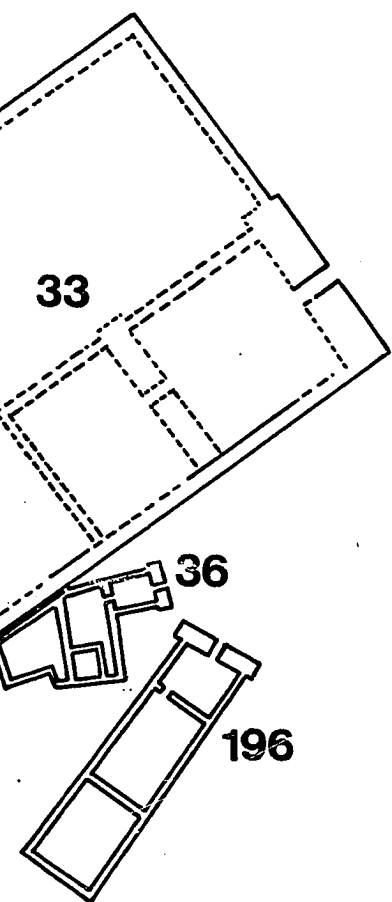
Appendix III (d)

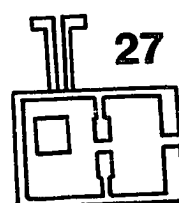
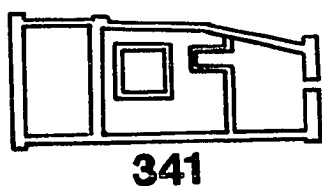
	Peramenopet	Kentueahet	Nutirdis	Basa	Ibi	Fabasa	Fedihorresnet	Sheshong
STAIRWAYS	(see plan) VI, VII, VIII	V, VII, IX (plan doubles back)	none	Between V - VI V - VII VII - VIII	Between IV and BCII	None	None	NA
ADDITIONAL ROOMS	Rooms IIIa IV V IX X XI XIII XIV XV XVI	IV VI VIII	none	V VI VII VIII	II III IV	None	None	NA
BURIAL APARTMENTS	North of main cult rooms	West of cult rooms, along main axis of tomb.	Southeast of cult rooms	Southwest of cult rooms	West of cult rooms	East of cult rooms	North of cult rooms	NA
Access	Shaft from Room XII	Shaft from Room X	Shaft in floor of Room III	Doorway from Room IV	Doorway from Room I	Doorway from Room I	Doorway from Room II	
Secondary Rooms	Corridor and 2 antechambers (XVI, XVII, XIX XX, XXI)	antechamber	antechamber) (Room III)	Antechambers VII	Antechambers V VI	Antechamber II	None	
Burial Chamber	5 x 9M	Dimensions NA	Irregular shape largest diame- ters: 3.2 x 3.7M	Main Burial Chamber 2.8 x 3.8m. Secondary Burial Chamber 2.8 x 2.7m.	Main Burial Chamber 4.3 x 2.5m. Secondary Chamber 2.3 x 3m.	Main Burial Chamber 4.3 x 2.5m. Secondary Chamber 3.8 x 2.8m.	Main Burial Chamber 5.3 x 3m.	NA

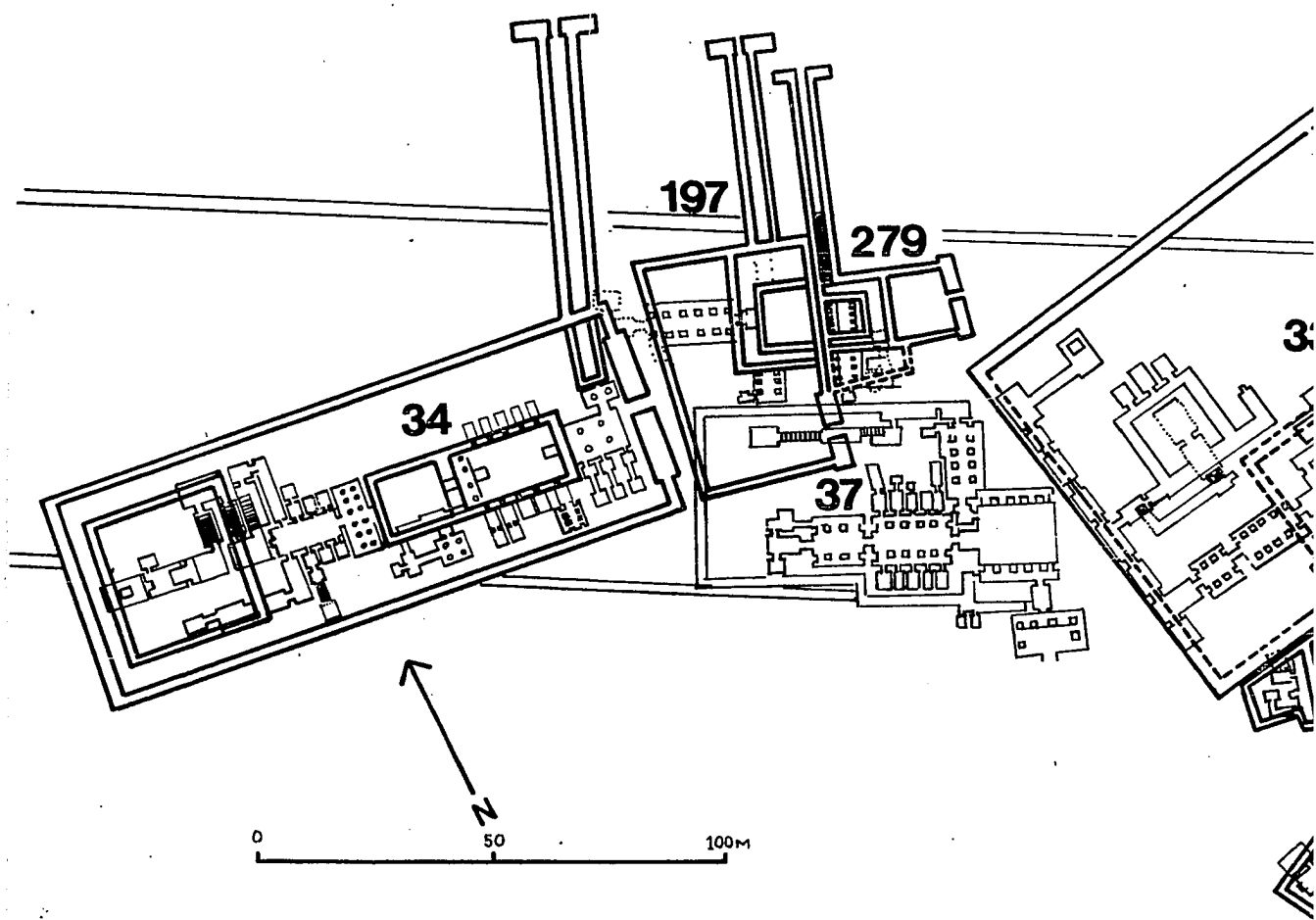
Appendix III (e)



Appendix I (a)







Appendix I (b)

